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N O T I C E

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Daily Report
Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-91-102 *28 May 1991*

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Moiseyev on Results of Washington Talks

PM2405195791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 May 91 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, by Ye. Agapova; date and place not given]

[Text] During Army General M.A. Moiseyev's visit to the United States KRASNAYA ZVEZDA special correspondent Ye. Agapova was in Washington. She put a number of questions to him. We publish the interview, which took place aboard an aircraft.

[Agapova] Mikhail Alekseyevich, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers know the broad outline of your visit to Washington. But we would like to have first-hand information about the objective of this visit and who took part in the talks.

[Moiseyev] Our delegation was in Washington in line with an accord achieved during a recent telephone conversation between USSR President M. Gorbachev and U.S. President G. Bush. We were to discuss with the U.S. side a number of questions which have accumulated of late in connection with arms reduction and limitation problems. There are quite a few of them. The main one, however, pertains to resolving the complex situation which has taken shape around the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (the CFE Treaty) which was signed in Paris 19 November 1990 by the leaders of 20 European states, the United States, and Canada. However, we did not want to confine ourselves to the problems of the CFE Treaty alone. It was also planned to examine the situation at the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space arms and in other areas of the disarmament process.

I will tell you frankly, we worked very hard. U.S. President G. Bush had discussions with us. During the two-and-a-half day visit to Washington meetings and talks were held with B. Scowcroft, his national security adviser; Secretary of State J. Baker; Secretary of Defense R. Cheney; General C. Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; and a group of senators in the U.S. Congress. Four working meetings lasting several hours were held with a U.S. delegation headed by R. Bartholomew, U.S. under secretary of state. There were also meetings between experts from the two countries.

[Agapova] But after all, the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe was signed six months ago. What kind of problems have arisen now?

[Moiseyev] The question now is this: Do the provisions of the CFE Treaty apply to the arms of military formations which are integral components of the Navy, or do they not? It is a question of tanks, armored vehicles, and artillery belonging to shore and naval infantry forces. The United States now proceeds from the premise that the provisions of the treaty apply to all arms and military hardware limited under the treaty deployed on land, irrespective to what service of the armed forces they belong.

We believed, and continue to believe, that the treaty does not cover the arms of naval infantry and shore defense forces. This is legally enshrined in the mandate of the Vienna talks signed 10 January 1989. After all, back during its elaboration, naval forces, and consequently also the naval infantry and shore defense forces, were excluded, at U.S. insistence, from the subject of the talks. Thus the arms of the naval infantry and shore defense forces were excluded against our wishes from discussion even before the talks began. This provision is enshrined in the Paris treaty. It was confirmed during the Vienna talks by six states, including the United States, in the Treaty on a Final Settlement in Respect of Germany, which states that "...in line with the mandate, ground and air forces alone... are the subject of the talks on conventional armed forces." For precisely the reason that the treaty does not apply to the Navy, the question of permanently land-based naval aviation was resolved outside the framework of the treaty during the talks, at U.S. insistence. Now in restrospect they are trying to make the accusation that the Soviet Union allegedly excluded the arms of naval infantry and shore defenses from the count after the CFE Treaty was signed. But this is not at all the case. So this is why the impasse has come about, and it is by no means our fault that obstacles have arisen in the path of the ratification of the CFE Treaty—this truly historic document which envisions substantial cuts in the European continent's arms arsenal.

[Agapova] But the impasse has not arisen right now. Can you tell us, Mikhail Alekseyevich, whether any steps to resolve it were taken earlier?

[Moiseyev] But of course. With a view to resolving the situation and ensuring the implementation of the Paris treaty, the Soviet Union took a number of steps aimed at settling the controversial issues. Letters were exchanged between the U.S. and USSR presidents and there were consultations at various levels. A possible accord was outlined, which, in our opinion, could eliminate the concern of all the states party to the treaty. Coordination of the specific details of a comprehensive settlement of outstanding questions was precisely one of the objectives of our visit to Washington.

[Agapova] What specific results did the talks in Washington produce?

[Moiseyev] I can firmly say that we have come very near to a final settlement of the outstanding questions. Practically only one issue, on which there are two proposals, has not yet been agreed. One of these was put forward by the Soviet side, and the other by the U.S. side. We have agreed to complete the remaining work via diplomatic channels.

Speaking in general, both sides have agreed that the talks were fruitful. On the admission of the U.S. side, the Soviet delegation displayed a constructive approach and flexibility, which make it possible to remove the obstacles which have arisen in the disarmament process as a

whole. I am convinced that all the barriers will be removed. But for this efforts on both sides are necessary. For our part we will do the utmost possible.

[Agapova] So it remains to be hoped that the Americans will do everything possible and that all the obstacles that have arisen on the path ratifying the CFE Treaty will be removed. Could you tell us what the situation is like in other areas of the disarmament process?

[Moiseyev] Allow me to emphasize once again that our delegation traveled to Washington prepared to discuss fully all problems pertaining to the disarmament process. We had extensive powers to this effect. But I must say quite frankly that despite preliminary agreement, the U.S. side was not ready for this. Take, for instance, the finalization of the draft of the bilateral treaty on radical cuts in strategic offensive arms within the framework of the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space arms in Geneva. After a technical recess for the purpose of preparing solutions to the remaining outstanding issues, the talks resumed 19 April. The Soviet delegation arrived in Geneva with instructions to proceed in such a way as to ensure the completion of the drafting of the Treaty on Strategic Offensive Arms within a short time. We put forward a number of compromise proposals aimed at the achievement of mutually acceptable solutions. But the U.S. side took the course of dragging out the talks. A number of decisions reached as long ago as last year in Houston have still not been endorsed. And what is more, a departure by the U.S. side from formerly reached accords is noticeable. Answers to many questions raised by the Soviet side in Geneva are a long time coming from Washington.

This, naturally, is hampering progress at the Geneva talks. Nor was the U.S. side ready to find mutually acceptable solutions on strategic offensive arms during our talks in Washington.

To sum up the results of our visit, the talks were difficult, but useful. This is an opinion shared also by the U.S. side. I believe that hopeful prospects in many areas lie ahead of us.

U.S. Retention of Arms Could Harm CW Bid

PM2705122391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 May 91 Union Edition p 5

[Report by B. Moskvichev: "Two Percent in Favor of Peace. NATO Supports Abolition of Chemical Weapons"]

[Text] Brussels—NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner has reacted positively to U.S. President G. Bush's statement concerning renunciation of the use of chemical weapons provided that an international convention banning them is concluded.

In a special communique disseminated by the alliance's headquarters, M. Woerner said that he is very enthusiastic about the U.S. President's important initiative, which is intended to impart new momentum to the Geneva talks on chemical weapons.

Some NATO experts pay special attention to the part of G. Bush's statement which talks about the United States not keeping a 2-percent stock of chemical weapons. The United States had previously thought that this quantity of chemical weapons was essential and sufficient for delivering a retaliatory strike in the event of their possible use during hostilities.

The retention of a 2-percent U.S. stock could impede the conclusion of an international convention and partly contribute to the further proliferation of chemical weapons. For many months the USSR, Germany, and Britain have been putting pressure on the United States to get it to renounce its original intention to keep some small but guaranteed deterrent stock of these weapons.

A change in the U.S. stance on this question, experts believe, also occurred in the study of the results of the Persian Gulf war. Iraq's failure to use chemical weapons was due not to the fact that the Americans were able to deliver a suitable rebuff, but primarily to the concentration against it of ultramodern types of conventional armaments, the massive use of which has just as great an effect on armed forces as chemical weapons.

The new U.S. initiative in the prohibition of chemical weapons should find its continuation, a bloc expert believes, in the further elaboration of the mechanism to monitor exports of all types of chemical industry products that might be used for the production of chemical weapons. In this connection, it is believed, new initiatives will be proposed aimed at creating a committee within the UN Security Council framework to monitor implementation of the decision on the nonproliferation of chemical armaments in the very near future.

NATO experts conclude that the participants in the talks on chemical weapons, which have been going on in Geneva for nearly 20 years, should now concentrate on the final obstacle to their successful completion. This is to do with all the countries participating in the talks agreeing to inspections on demand.

TASS Reports Foreign Ministry News Conference

On Evacuation From Ethiopia

LD2705144591 Moscow TASS in English 1427 GMT 27 May 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev, Sergey Postanogov and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow May 27 TASS—Soviet spokesman Vitaliy Churkin opened today's briefing with the announcement that Soviet citizens had been evacuated from Ethiopia.

As is known, he said, the military-political situation in Ethiopia has sharply deteriorated over the past few days. Armed opposition groups established control over vast areas of the country, encircling the capital, Addis Ababa. According to reports, their advance into the city has been suspended, waiting for the outcome of the meeting between the leadership of the Ethiopian Government and the opposition that opens in London today.

Soviet people in Ethiopia are being urgently evacuated, Churkin said. In the past 1 ½ to two months a considerable number were dispatched home, while specialists from outlying regions were brought to Addis Ababa and accommodated on the territory of the embassy and trade mission.

A special Aeroflot flight yesterday brought to Moscow the last group of women and children, members of the families of Soviet people who worked in Ethiopia, Churkin continued. There are plans to evacuate the large number of remaining Soviet citizens to Aden, the Yemen Republic, by Soviet aircraft that were used to help the Ethiopian national economy and from there to Moscow by two special Aeroflot flights.

After that, Churkin said, some 170 Soviet citizens will remain, including more than 50 staffers of the Red Cross hospital that has operated in Addis Ababa for several decades and some 50 geologists who are prospecting for oil in Ogaden, an eastern part of the country far from the combat zone.

Since geologists are to stop work, they have to conserve the two holes they drilled. If this is not done, a powerful outburst of natural gas is inevitable, which could seriously damage the ecological situation in the region. Soviet doctors and geologists, aware of the complexity of the situation, are staying behind in Ethiopia voluntarily to perform this humane mission and preserve the national wealth of the Ethiopian people, Churkin stressed in conclusion.

Cuban Angola Withdrawal 'Constructive'

LD2705145191 Moscow TASS in English 1427 GMT 27 May 91

[Text] Moscow May 27 TASS—The Soviet Union regards the early completion of Cuban withdrawal from Angola as an important contribution to the earliest possible normalisation of the situation in the region and as an example of a constructive approach to fulfilment of international agreements, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing here today.

Vitaliy Churkin stressed that the early withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola creates favourable conditions for furthering the settlement process in southwestern Africa.

Churkin expressed hope that other participants in this process would be guided by a similar approach towards fulfilling their obligations.

On Zambian Accession to Arms Accord

LD2705145791 Moscow TASS in English 1432 GMT 27 May 91

[Text] Moscow May 27 TASS—A document on Zambia's accession to the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons has been recently submitted to the Soviet Embassy in that country, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing here today.

"The Soviet Union," Vitaliy Churkin said, "welcomes this important and responsible step which, undoubtedly, will help strengthen international security and stability, consolidate the international regime of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons".

Churkin expressed hope that Zambia's example will be soon followed by other African states, which will help to construct a nuclear-free zone on the African Continent.

On Al-Ta'if Accord, Lebanese Sovereignty

LD2705150491 Moscow TASS in English 1447 GMT 27 May 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev, Sergey Postanogov and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow May 27 TASS—Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vitaliy Churkin described the Syrian-Lebanese agreement signed in Damascus on May 22 as "an important factor in developing the al-Ta'if process" [word indistinct] ensuring peace and stability in the republic [words indistinct].

At a briefing today, Churkin drew attention to the fact that the document reiterates Lebanon's sovereignty and independence and determines prospects for Lebanese-Syrian partnership on the basis of the generally accepted practice of inter-state relations.

"We proceed from the fact that the agreement of May 22 reflects the desire of Lebanon's constitutional authorities and Syria's leadership to fulfil the al-Ta'if agreements consistently," Churkin said.

The charter of [words indistinct] accord worked out by the Lebanese parliamentarians in al-Ta'if in 1989 contains provisions on developing relations between Lebanon and Syria in accordance with the special character of their historic, economic, cultural and other ties.

The al-Ta'if accords envisage concluding a special agreement between the governments of these two sovereign states.

On Israeli 'Aggression,' Moiseyev

LD2705165791 Moscow TASS in English 1634 GMT 27 May 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev, Sergey Postanogov and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Excerpts] Moscow May 27 TASS—Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vitaliy Churkin on Monday held a briefing at the ministry press centre. [passage omitted]

Churkin said that exchanges of military information would be very useful for cooperation between Eastern Europe and NATO.

On Israeli aggression against Lebanon, Churkin said that "the Soviet Union is concerned about the state of affairs in the Middle East and Moscow's efforts aim, to a large extent, to settle all remaining problems in this region as soon as possible".

Commenting on the results of the Chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces Mikhail Moiseyev's recent visit to the United States, Churkin noted that "the sides moved very close to solving issues, which have long remained unresolved after the signing of a treaty on conventional forces in Europe". He said "there are grounds for hoping that these problems will be solved in the near future".

Churkin drew journalists' attention to the participation in talks on arms reduction of such high-ranking military officials as the chief of the general staff. "It is a common thing, especially at the final stage, when technical problems are discussed".

Moiseyev's trip to the United States does not mean that the centre of gravity in disarmament issues has been shifted to the Defence Ministry. The Soviet Foreign Ministry, as before, is taking an active part in examining and solving respective issues, Churkin said.

Churkin described Moiseyev's visit to Washington as "far from useless".

Moiseyev Cited on Arms Control Issues, U.S. Talks

PM2405093591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 May 91 Union Edition p 5

[A. Blinov report under "Panorama of International Life" rubric: "Commitment to Seeking Solutions"]

[Text] Washington—The visit to the United States of Army General M.A. Moiseyev, one of the top Soviet military leaders, ended with a meeting with U.S. State Department specialists involved in arms control issues.

During his visit to the United States, Army Gen. M.A. Moiseyev, first deputy defense minister and chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, was received by U.S. President G. Bush in the White House and had meetings with U.S. Secretary of Defense R. Cheney and Secretary of State J. Baker. Talks were held with General C. Powell, chairman of the U.S. Armed Forces Joint Chiefs of Staff; and B. Scowcroft, the U.S. President's national security adviser.

The negotiations with the U.S. side held by Moiseyev and the delegation he was heading—which also included Yu.A. Kvitsinskiy, USSR first deputy foreign minister—concerned questions of arms control.

Discussion of the differences in both sides' approach to the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe occupied an important place in the concluded discussions. As is known, the U.S. Administration has announced that it will not submit the text of the treaty for ratification by the Senate until the differences on issues relating to this treaty have been eliminated.

As Moiseyev noted, the negotiations made it possible to remove almost all the disputed issues. "Aside from one point concerning naval forces, all the observations put by President G. Bush to M.S. Gorbachev have been resolved," Moiseyev said. At the same time, according to Moiseyev, "the negotiations are not finished. Both sides have committed themselves to seeking opportunities for a solution by taking steps toward each other." Negotiations will also continue on the whole complex of arms control.

As Moiseyev went on to explain, the Soviet proposal on the controversial problem of the weapons belonging to Soviet divisions categorized as coastal defense units envisions their inclusion in the overall limit stipulated for the Soviet side by the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe. Some flexibility is proposed only as regards which component [chast] of these weapons will be viewed as being in service and which component will be counted among weapons authorized for storage. This, the Soviet representative stressed, does not violate the ceilings established for the USSR by the treaty and does not affect the envisioned regional division.

Journalists asked Moiseyev to comment on President Bush's comment that the problems connected with the treaty on conventional arms can be resolved this week.

This is completely possible, Moiseyev said, stressing here that a "relatively small issue," which does not require the reexamination of the package of agreements, remained unresolved.

The same day M.A. Moiseyev concluded his visit to Washington. President Bush gave his assessment of the

Soviet-U.S. arms control negotiations. It has been partially cited above. Bush also stated that the negotiations between the USSR and the United States "are going very well." (endall) 24 may en/airey/ap 24/1251z may

Newspaper Probe of KAL Downing Continues

91UF0773A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
22 May 91 Union Edition p 8

["IZVESTIYA Investigation. Part Two" by Andrey Illesh: "Mystery of the Korean Boeing-747"; sixth article of current series]

[Text]

VI.

In previous issues of the newspaper we have given the French expert Michel Bran the floor and also quoted the viewpoints of the Americans Robert Lee and Joe Ferguson. This was done intentionally: The purpose of IZVESTIYA's investigation is not to dispense with any, even the most surprising, versions of the causes and essence of the tragedy over Sakhalin—only in a comparison of data from the most varied sources may the truth be unearthed. And now a version of the loss of the Boeing is expressed by Soviet specialists.

...One of the first of our reports on the story of the loss of KAL-007 ended with the words: "According to specialists' information, from the Boeing 747's altitude at that time, the downed aircraft took no less than 10 minutes to fall to the sea." This figure came simultaneously from both the American and Soviet sides.

As far as our sources are concerned, those same 10 minutes figured, as it happened, both in the recollections of eyewitnesses to the search for the Boeing and in the testimony of the military. We confess: The reporters took them initially as reality. There has now come a time when the correctness of the calculations has to be doubted.

...The pilot Viktor Kabanov telephoned the editorial office and suggested that it avail itself of his filming: he had flown over the location of the search for the Boeing and shot Moneron from above. Unfortunately, the film is not of much use but Viktor himself is a qualified expert: He is a military aviation school graduate and has been flying since 1968.

His tiny 12-meter room in a communal apartment is crammed with shelves, on which everything pertains to aircraft.

"Indeed, in 1985 I was flying on an assignment of the research fleet's Pacific Reconnaissance Directorate. The boys with whom I was working at that time offered on one flight to show me the place where the search for the Boeing was conducted. Here you are, near Moneron." Viktor indicated the place on the map with a pencil. "A buoy was floating there. And the radar operators who showed it me had themselves taken part in the search for the aircraft in 1983. I marked down this place on the map at that time. These were neutral waters, not far from the island.

"I maintain that there is no way KAL-007 could have been falling for 10 minutes. I altogether fail to understand what kind of serious estimates of the fall time were made if prior to the publication in IZVESTIYA it was not known where precisely the missiles hit. If we believe Lieutenant Colonel Osipovich, one missile hit the tail, the other, the engine. It could not, incidentally, have been otherwise: for one missile was infrared and would have sought the heat of the engine. And the second, which is mounted on an Su-15, is radar- equipped and seeks the strongest echo signal. Such a signal is emitted by the fuselage. Here, take a look—the Su-15 in all its glory. Here are its mounted missiles." Viktor fished out and opened in front of us one of his albums devoted to this fighter.

"Let us look at it logically. One missile hit the tail, the stabilizer, and control rods. The second broke off part of a wing. In flight the Boeing's stabilizer is deflected; it supports the front of the aircraft, as it were. If a missile hits the tail and breaks the rods (or simply jams them), the front turns down. Even if it is allowed that this did not happen instantly and the machine maintained a stable position, the Boeing would, all the same, inevitably have "nodded:" After all, a substantial part of a wing had been broken off. In this case the lift on one wing would have been greater than on the other, and banking would have occurred. This banking could not have been stabilized by an increase in the angle of attack. Further, given the banking, there would have been a slide, and the aircraft would have gone into a spiral, nose down. The spiral would have become increasingly steep, and the rate of descent of the falling aircraft would have become greater and greater. The aircraft would have begun falling initially in a large spiral, then in a diminishing radius. There would have been a catastrophic growth of the overload within the Boeing—people would have been pressed into their seats, and standing up would have been impossible.... So the aircraft is now tearing along at a fantastic rate of descent. It would have reached the water in a maximum of one and a half to two minutes (and even sooner, most likely). In this case the rate of descent could well have been 200 meters a second.

"Depressurization and explosive decompression are a dreadful condition for the human organism. The eardrums burst. People are ejected together with their seats. They are sucked out through the damaged tail section.... And the baggage also, naturally. There was an incident involving a Turkish DC-10 when passengers were pulled out—about 20 persons—merely because of an inadequately closed hatch. And the altitude on that occasion was not that great; what is more, and, consequently, the pressure drop (in the compartment and outside) was not as immense as in the case of the Korean aircraft. KAL-007's hitting the water must, I repeat, have been appalling. But the aircraft had begun to break up in the air even—from the excessive impact pressure.

The distance from the location of the missile attack to the point of fall was such: If the Boeing had begun to fall in a banked position of 60 degrees and had gone into a spiral at a speed of 900 kph, the radius could have been approximately 3,700 meters. This means that the maximum distance from the point at which it was shot down could have been 10 km. Now about whether the Boeing pilots spotted Osipovich. It is difficult to maintain anything unequivocally here. We recall that civil airliner cabins afford the pilot a very small field of vision. In order for another aircraft to be seen the latter has to be flying in front in an arc of about 30 degrees. But meanwhile it was night, and the Korean pilots in the cabin were most likely seated and talking—keeping one another awake.... Even had they seen the fighter and, let us assume, taken fright, the Koreans would not have had time to comply with Osipovich's demands—the lieutenant colonel had already received the order: 'Destroy the target.' And he was in a great hurry—they had already jumped past Sakhalin.

"Look, from Tyuleniy Island to Nevelsk is 280 km. If he was flying at a speed of 980 kph, he would have covered this segment in 18 minutes. It was necessary in this strict time allocation to catch up with the intruder, level off and, in addition, signal him....

"I return once again to the notorious 10 minutes of fall. This time is extremely convenient for the Soviet side—it is thus indirectly explained why the Boeing fell in neutral waters. An aircraft usually makes a descent from 10,000 meters in 15 minutes, incidentally. And this is not a fall, note, but merely a descent."

Viktor brought out an oldish motion picture projector and began to show the frames he had taken from the cabin: here was a Swedish aircraft flying ahead and wiggling its wings: "He is signaling us—you are an intruder, follow me." "Were you really an intruder?"

"Of course not. These Swedes were simply playing around, and we paid no attention and continued on our way. Unfortunately, there are hooligans in the air also....

"Who knows, perhaps the Korean crew was treating our fighter, which they had spotted at the last minute, just like that—as a chance air meeting? Perhaps we will be able to find this out also...."

Now to aircraft engineer Valeriy Uyutov. He has experience in design work, is familiar with the material of investigations of air disasters, and has tested engines for military aircraft. His viewpoint does not correspond to Viktor Kabanov's opinion in all respects, but it also brings us closer to the accomplishment of the mission.

"So, first, what do I have to answer: Could a foreign passenger aircraft be in the USSR's airspace for reasons unconnected with ill intent? An Aeroflot Il-62M en route from Moscow to Khabarovsk at night once flew, owing to incorrect instrument adjustment, in a descent pattern for seven (!) hours. And the crew noticed the loss of altitude, what is more, only visually (the small mud volcanoes en route). The aircraft had a crew of five. The cabin had four altimeters, and they were all malfunctioning. The objective monitoring facilities (the "black box") showed that throughout the flight there were no fewer than four persons in the cabin the whole time. They stayed awake. At the appointed times they hooked up and made entries in the flight log.... Nor did the ground tracking station record any deviations. Improbable, but a fact! And this was not an isolated instance. There are known instances of crews hallucinating and straying in airspace both on the territory of the USSR and beyond with the tracking facilities remaining silent. Clearly, all this could happen with foreign airlines also.

"The second question: To what extent do U.S. air reconnaissance assets need to enter the USSR's airspace to accomplish an espionage mission? Having familiarized ourselves with the specifications, for example, of such aircraft as the RS-135 and the SR-71, we realize that the first is capable of accomplishing its missions without entering the USSR's airspace, while the second, even having violated the border and intruded into our airspace, could not be intercepted by aircraft of the Su-15 and MiG-23 type. So it transpires that there is no point in violating the USSR's border for reconnaissance purposes (considering the satellites); and on the other hand, were there to be a desire to violate it, there are the means to do so....

"But let us return to KAL-007. A night flight. The passengers are sleeping. The crew has for some reason or other wandered off course, but has already discovered this and is heading in the direction of neutral waters and, simultaneously, toward Seoul. Even if they hear the exchange of the USSR military aircraft, they do not understand Russian. It is several minutes flight time to neutral waters.

"Osipovich receives the order to destroy the target. He does not know that it is a passenger aircraft, and from behind its silhouette appears to him similar to the RS-135. Inasmuch as the irradiation recorder was silent, consequently, the rear radar was switched off (a rear artillery piece is mounted on large military aircraft), and it was possible to approach to a cannon-fire distance. Attack. The first burst in the tail, to damage the guns, the rest, at the fuselage from tail to front in several approaches.

"Firing 243 shells, about which Osipovich speaks, would take only six seconds. This would be five or six bursts. For this reason the pilot of the following MiG-28 says that he sees air combat. He saw the northern lights of the flames at the muzzle end of the guns and Osipovich's maneuvering with his boosters on. But the armor-piercing shells do not do great damage, and for this reason, to Osipovich's astonishment, the enemy continues his flight. The order has not been carried out! The pilots of KAL-007 (and it was on the boundary of neutral waters) realized that there would now be a follow-up missile attack, and they switched off their engines to take away the possibility of the firing of heat-seeking missiles. At that moment Osipovich had lost altitude. But the

Boeing's engines could not have cooled off instantly, and the experienced pilot had sufficient time for a missile attack.

"The riddled KAL-007 could not have fallen for 10 minutes but went into a spin and, covering a kilometer of altitude in three seconds, in 25 or 30 seconds reached the water, which is 800 times denser than air. For this reason looking for corpses was futile. It fell in a vertical descent, and if there were fragments of it in neutral waters, it was there, consequently, that Osipovich fired his missiles."

An episode from another meeting: Gennadiy Osipovich was leaning over a map. He was showing IZVESTIYA correspondents the route of that flight: "Here we approached the shoreline. Here I was given the command to destroy him, and then it was canceled. While we were flying along here (he drew a line slantwise from Nevelsk along a course angle of 240), I flashed and fired...."

How accurate was that time? One is struck by the distance over land—it is virtually three times shorter than the route from the island of Tyuleniy to Nevelsk. And if the whole segment took 18 minutes of flying time, to here was about seven minutes. Were these minutes sufficient time for the Korean pilots to size up the situation and grasp the trouble they were in?

Osipovich continues:

"It was here that I hit him."

He placed a cross on the coastline in the area of Nevelsk.

"It was here that he began to bank and fell somewhere here, in the area of the island of Moneron. I do not know where exactly."

"How long could he have been falling?"

"It all depends on how he was disabled. He could have crashed down immediately. How long does a body in free fall fly from 10,000? You can calculate it—acceleration times weight...."

But here Osipovich stumbled and approached the map, on which he himself had only just noted the place of his shooting:

"The devil knows.... The Boeing was not simply falling, it was struggling. How much further did it fly on—no fewer than 60 or 70 km here (he counts off the centimeters on the map).... In 1977 a Boeing 707 of that same airline was disabled in the North. It was put down on the ice, although without half a wing. And this one must have struggled...."

So here they are, these 10 minutes! The pilot himself also needs them as confirmation of an extremely important fact: The aircraft was shot down over Soviet territory.

But was it all like this in actual fact? We will have to come back to this question.

Possible Easing of Cocom Restrictions Viewed

PM2405101991 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 May 91 First Edition p 3

[Article by Ye. Ustinova: "Are Changes in Cocom Imminent?"]

[Text] For 40 years now the international organization Cocom (Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls) has been coordinating the export policy of a few of the most developed Western states with regard to the USSR and its East European neighbors. The main principle of Cocom's activity has been a total ban on deliveries of strategic production to the Soviet and East European markets. Often the restrictions also extend to "dual-purpose" commodities and technologies suitable for both civilian and military use. Cocom's activity has always been explained by the claim that the Soviet Union and the East European states present a threat to Western security. But today, taking into account the serious economic and political transformations in those countries and the military-political changes in Europe as a whole, and also the emergence of new military priorities for the West, Cocom experts have reached the conclusion that this organization should be reformed.

The initiative of the proposed Cocom reorganization comes from the U.S. Government, which a year ago elaborated a specific program for easing export barriers. The main difference between the new document and the old list is that it will enumerate not, as at present, the goods authorized for export but, on the contrary, those that are banned, on the well-known principle that everything that is not banned is permitted. Three groups of goods are singled out for which a complete or partial lifting of control is envisioned. These are computers and to a somewhat lesser extent telecommunications and machine building equipment.

Initially it is planned that export privileges will extend only to Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. It is believed that these countries no longer present a strategic threat to the West. The easing of restrictions on exports to the Soviet Union is not yet envisioned. A tougher regime will still extend to our country. In addition, their creation of systems of reliable control to prevent any possibility of the resale of Western goods to the USSR is set as an essential condition for the three East European countries' acquisition of special status. One demand in exchange for trade advantages is also that Cocom inspectors directly verify on the spot that the output which has been acquired is being used for strictly civilian purposes.

The Persian Gulf crisis was one recent event which delayed the adoption of a definitive decision to liberalize multilateral export rules. It gave rise to keen debate among the Cocom countries. The United States began to insist on the extension of control to countries like Iraq and Libya. But these proposals are encountering objections from some of the United States' West European allies. The definitive decision on this question will be taken at the forthcoming routine Cocom session in Paris on 23 and 24 May.

Of course, it is hard to say right now what specific decisions will be taken at this session. Only one thing is clear—no prohibitory lists in whatever form they may exist can in any way accord with the realities of the present and in no way promote a positive change in the nature of relations between East and West.

INTERFAX Analyzes Primakov's G-7 Mission

OW2805065191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1500 GMT 27 May 91

["Diplomatic Panorama" by diplomatic correspondent M. Mayorov]

[Text] A member of Mr Gorbachev's national security council, Dr Yevgeniy Primakov, has arrived in Washington as part of Moscow's recent consultations about the possibility of being involved in a G7 meeting due in London in July.

Although it has sent no formal request yet, it is believed Moscow is sending an appropriate signal to G7 leaders through missions by Dr Primakov and Soviet economist Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, the author of the much publicised "500 days plan" who is also in Washington now. Mr Yavlinskiy and a team of Harvard University experts are working out a plan for cooperation between the Soviet Union and the West which, if approved, could become a channel for massive aid to Soviet reform. Journalists quote a figure of $100 billion which the G7 may agree to provide to the Soviet Union as a long-range credit.

Soviet diplomats declined to say anything definite about the aim of the current trip to Washington by Dr Primakov who is widely known for his contacts with the West and the Middle East. The Soviet Foreign Ministry said it had nothing to do with Dr Primakov's mission.

Officials of Mr Gorbachev's press secretariat warned reporters against Dr Primakov being called the Soviet president's special envoy this time. The sources close to Mr Gorbachev made it clear it would be sufficient to refer to Dr Primakov as a member of the national security council.

Dr Primakov has his own mission to fulfil, said one of Mr Gorbachev's press secretaries, and he will act in line with his own plan. But this is not to say that there will be no contacts with Mr Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, with whom Dr Primakov worked together over the wording of a joint appeal aimed at a possible economic aid to the Soviet Union by G7 countries.

However, the press secretary did not say whether Dr Primakov had any new ideas to offer which could be seen by Washington as a guarantee that the Soviet reform was consistent and irreversible, something, says President Bush, he and his Western counterparts expect to hear before deciding on the issue of economic aid to the Soviet Union. The press secretary agreed there was something behind all that talk. He said there was a mixed response to the issue of Soviet participation in the G7 meeting, discussions were underway and the results would follow.

United States & Canada

Gorbachev, Bush Discuss Arms Control on Telephone

LD2705220491 Moscow TASS in English 2155 GMT 21 May 91

[Text] Moscow May 28 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev had a phone conversation with U.S. President George Bush late on Monday.

The two discussed arms control and economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States in connection with the planned summit meeting.

During a substantive and constructive discussion, the presidents expressed satisfaction over the work that is being done and said they wanted it done as soon as possible.

Foreign Ministry on 'Successful' Moiseyev Trip

OW2705153191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 24 May 91

[By diplomatic correspondents P. Vasiliyev and M. Mayorov: "Results of General Moiseyev's Mission to the USA"; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[Text] DP [Diplomatic Panorama] learned from sources at the USSR Foreign Ministry that nearly all the differences on the Conventional Forces Treaty in Europe (CFE) have been ironed out: hence, General of the Army Moiseyev's mission to the USA may be described as successful.

According to the Soviet Foreign Ministry, there were three stumbling blocks on the way of ratification (the relocation of Soviet armour to Siberia, the reassignment of the motorized infantry division to naval guards and making the marines immune to any troops cuts under the treaty), but the first two disagreements have been resolved.

Military sources describe the compromise as follows: the USSR "pledged not to exceed the treaty-specified troops and arms ceilings in the European zone" but asked the USA to "overlook the violations as regards the territorial division".

The idea is that the ceilings on troops and arms the treaty allowed to be in the European part of the USSR will be met, and the reassigned divisions will remain in the border guards. It is these units deployed on the flanks, in the Baltics and on the Black Sea, that are in excess of the regional troops and arms ceilings. An equivalent quantity of forces will be scrapped in the reserve and in warehouses.

The military expert said that now in the European part of the USSR "things are going to be the way they are, and we will scrap elquivalent arsenals in other areas. Then we will have a uniform strength of troops and armaments throughout the entire zone in conformity with the already signed treaty".

The treaty also sets ceillings for the flank areas, with account of the forces our ex-allies had. The expert would not answer whether there will be any reductions in the immediate flank zones after the reassignment of the three divisions to the coastal guards or whether there will be aggregate cuts within one zone.

One issue remains outstanding: whether the marines fall under the treaty-specified reductions or not. The Soviet Foreign Ministry sets the strength of the Soviet marines at 14,000 and of the American, at 200,000. The total of the equipment the Soviet marine units have can only be estimated in round figures (120 tanks, 150 armoured personnel carriers and 250 artillery pieces) while the U.S. Marines have as many as 40,000 tanks, other equipment not counted in.

According to the Soviet military expert, "this question is political rather than military". This opinion is echoed by the Soviet Foreign Ministry staffers: "... the reductions laid down in the treaty kill the Soviet marines as a branch of the armed forces".

According to the Soviet military expert, the U.S. reluctance to make this branch of the forces immune to the treaty may be explained as apprehension lest the USSR expand the branch uncontrollably in case the treaty overlooks the marines. To counter this, he says, the Soviet Union and the USA could pledge unilaterally to refrain from building up the marines beyond the format of the negotiation mandate.

The military expert claimed that the issue will definitely be tackled at the summit (to be held in Moscow this summer): "Neither party gains by leaving the issue in the air. The parties are out to 'save face', and there are no major disagreements any more".

Another disarmament expert of the Soviet Foreign Ministry who spoke with DP but requested anonymity was terse in his comments, because, among other things, "the military are jealous of any information concerning Moiseyev's talks in Washington that does not originate in their circles".

His assessment: Answers have been found to nearly all of the questions, but there remain outstanding aspects "requiring clarification as to how they will be anchored in the corresponding documents".

He confirmed Moiseyev's interview carried in the May 24 issue of the newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA that the parties agreed to put the finishing touches via diplomatic channels. He did not rule out the possibility of military experts being asked not to participate in further talks, first of all on the marines.

Though the interviewee is on the whole sanguine, he is not inclined to believe that all the obstacles to a Soviet-U.S. summit in the summer have been removed. According to him, it is yet "early to claim that everything is ready for the Gorbachev-Bush summit in Moscow". He noted though that "now both sides understand what we want and what the U.S. wants out of disarmament".

The Foreign Ministry expert believes that now the U.S. does not have any arguments to establish a linkage

between compliance with the CFE Treaty and the stategic offensive arms treaty. "Old arguments in favour of such a linkage no longer work," he says, referring to progress in the talks on major items of the Paris conventional arms agreement.

Mikhail Lysenko, a staffer at the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Department of the USA and Canada, was also quite optimistic about the results of Moiseyev's talks in Washington. While the marines remain an outstanding issue, a solution can be found as "the U.S. has made counter proposals".

The completion of the work on the strategic arms treaty is quite a different matter, says he. "We are concerned that the Americans did not make any new proposals on the treaty in Washington," says the Soviet diplomat, "though Moscow had previously come out with new ideas concerning possible solutions to the remaining technical details. In fact, the Americans sidestepped the issues in Washington. This is alarming," says Lysenko, but, acording to him, he would not like to dramatize the situation.

Defense Ministry Rebuts Claim of Aid to Iraq

PM2405204591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 May 91 Second Edition p 5

[USSR Defense Ministry Press Center report: "Another WASHINGTON POST Lie"]

[Text] A few days ago the U.S. newspaper WASHINGTON POST repeated again, citing some "top secret" CIA reports, fabrications claiming that the Soviet Union had secretely assisted Iraq during the crisis in the Persian Gulf and that "representatives of the Red Army" played a "double game" without the sanction of the USSR president.

The persistence with which THE WASHINGTON POST is repeating claims which are known to be false and which have been refuted more than once by both the Soviet and the American side, is causing puzzlement. The truth is that, because the USSR did not carry out any "secret" deliveries of arms and military equipment to Iraq and did not have any military specialists, not to mention military advisers, in the combat operations zone after the adoption of the UN Security Council resolutions to this effect, the publication of lies of this kind can only be interpreted as deliberate propaganda aimed at casting aspersions on the policy of the Soviet Union and hampering the development of positive trends in Soviet-U.S. relations.

Gorbachev Receives Agricultural Delegation

PM2605193991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
27 May 91 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Reception in Kremlin"]

[Text] On 25 May, USSR President M.S. Gorbachev received in the Kremlin R. Crowder, U.S. under secretary of agriculture for international affairs and commodity programs, who heads a group of American specialists who have come to our country under an accord between the USSR and U.S. Presidents. The aim of the visit is to learn about the state of agricultural production and processing and wholesale and market trade. During their stay in the USSR, the guests have visited the Ukraine, Stavropol Kray, Bashkiria, Moscow, and Moscow Oblast. There have also been meetings in Soviet departments and organizations concerned with questions of the agroindustrial complex and foreign economic activity.

R. Crowder and E. Hewitt, special assistant to the U.S. President and a member of the delegation, related their impressions to the USSR president. A lively [zhivoy] exchange of opinions took place on the state of affairs in the Soviet economy, the prospects for its switch to market relations, and Soviet-American collaboration and trade and economic ties. On their return to Washington, the delegation members will brief U.S. President Bush on the trip and their meetings.

The following were present during the conversation: on the American side E. McAllister, U.S. assistant secretary of state; and J. Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR; and on the Soviet side Ye.M. Primakov, F.P. Senko, and S.A. Sitaryan.

Value of U.S. Farm Exports to USSR To Fall

PM2705144391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
25 May 91 Union Edition p 1

[From IZVESTIYA, TASS, RIA, and REUTER roundup: "U.S. Exports to USSR May Be Cut"]

[Text] The U.S. Agriculture Department has prepared a report saying that exports of U.S. agricultural produce to the Soviet Union may be cut by 20 percent this year to roughly $1.8 billion. In 1990 the volume of these exports reached $2.3 billion. The report notes that the proposed reduction in exports expressed in value terms is to a considerable extent attributable to the fall in grain prices on world markets.

Western Economic Aid Held Up by 'Abiding Doubt'

PM2705140591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
25 May 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent V. Nadein: "Neither Yes Nor No at Present. West Makes Question of Economic Aid for the USSR Dependent on Our Reforms"]

[Text] Washington—The atmosphere in Washington over the last few days requires some kind of half-and-half descriptions from the observer. The half-phrases and deliberately unfinished sentences in political leaders' statements contain neither alarm nor threat. Signs of improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations are visible throughout. It is in the air, in reporters' questions, to which they receive outwardly rather restrained answers; but they are not appeased and are asking them over and

over, as if hoping that the leaders will let the cat out of the bag and say what they really think.

At Wednesday's presidential press conference in the Rose Room of the White House no one asked George Bush about the $1.5 billion loan to the Soviet Union. The question of this loan has not yet been decided. Washington has still not said "yes" and has not even said that it will say "yes."

But Bush was asked repeatedly about something else: Will the "Big Seven" agree to grant the Soviet Union long-term credit of $100 billion?

Bush did not protest or wave his hands and did not allow a single note of irony. "We are still talking to our allies about that," he said, indirectly confirming the well-founded nature of reporters' interest in this truly world-scale problem. "President Gorbachev has not yet put that proposal to me. Mr. Primakov is coming to visit us soon to discuss it and... or to discuss, as Gorbachev told me, some new ideas aimed at economic reform."

G. Bush noted that President F. Mitterrand and ("I know quite definitely") H. Kohl and J. Major are prepared to discuss together "what we can do to help real reforms in the Soviet Union."

Although the President immediately backpedaled slightly, noting that he was unwilling to comment on proposals that have not been put forward, experienced commentators immediately compared Bush's list with recent newspaper reports saying that the Canadian and Italian prime ministers back the idea of inviting M.S. Gorbachev to the G-7 meeting scheduled for July in London.

In response to questions that, in effect, revolved around what people here usually call the "Marshall Plan for the USSR" the President divulged an important idea that is often voiced in our country too. He said: "The Soviet Union is a great power. We respect it. We have problems with it. But it is in our interests, it is in U.S. national interests, and, I think, in everyone else's interests to have a reformed Soviet Union, in particular the kind of Soviet Union that intends to prove itself more democratic. I never believed that President Gorbachev would renounce reforms, and he is definitely not renouncing openness and glasnost. That is why my response will be: Let's see."

At any time commentators would consider the last sentence discouraging. But it was not said, of course, to extinguish hopes. On the contrary, it is a clear signal of the main concern for the West, which is deciding a truly universal question. Everyone realizes that aid is "in everyone's interests" and that delay will only increase the scale of the aid required. But...

But there is still the abiding doubt as to the Soviet Union's readiness to proceed with radical economic and political transformations. THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, the U.S. business newspaper, cites Professor Graham Allison of Harvard University as saying that two conditions must be met before the West offers its aid. "First: The Soviets should secure political democracy with an elected government... Second: A market-oriented economic plan should be implemented."

Many commentators deem wide-ranging aid to the Soviet Union quite likely on these two conditions. They no longer see any hope of a favorable outcome for the USSR if any of two legacies remain—either a government that has not been elected by the people or another five-year plan with a slight sprinkling of market terminology.

China

Commentator Denies Strategic Alliance With PRC

OW2405190891 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin 1000 GMT 24 May 91

[Commentary by Nikolayev; from the "Current Events and Commentaries" program]

[Text] SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA on 23 May published an article commenting on the recent Sino-Soviet summit. The article was written by Soviet People's Deputy Ed. Gams and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA commentator Yu. Selivanov. They put forth their own views on Sino-Soviet relations. Radio Moscow commentator Nikolayev will give a brief overview of the article's main points. We believe Chinese listeners will be interested in them.

I fully agree with the views of my SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA counterpart. For example, Jiang Zemin's visit to the Soviet Union has become an important step for further developing relations between the two countries. I also agree that the visit will influence military detente in the entire Asia-Pacific Region. It is already producing an influence. The potential of Sino-Soviet cooperation should be tremendous beyond a doubt. However, I cannot agree with the viewpoint of the writer on taking advantage of the potentials. The main points of the article are as follows:

Presently, [words indistinct] powers produced confrontation. If the Soviet Union and China do not form a strategic alliance, they will not have any superiority. Gams and Selivanov asserted that the Soviet Union and China are basically confronting an enemy right now. They refer to the West as the enemy. The writers of the article maintain that the West is trying every possible way to split up the Soviet Union and China. Two conclusions are drawn from this viewpoint. First, the Soviet Union and China have no reason to continue cooperation with the West. Second, the only choice left for cooperation requires Moscow and Beijing to make efforts to work closely with each other, militarily and politically. Finally, the writers of the article are hopeful that this kind of cooperation will fundamentally change the pattern of balance of power in the world. Furthermore, they maintain that both countries can capitalize on experiences acquired from Sino-Soviet relations in the 1950's. These are the viewpoints put forth by the

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA article: judging the future by old standards; a set of military terms that will cover up the establishment of a strategic alliance once again; and the call to fundamentally upset the present balance of power in the world—all of these seem to smack a little of the cold war.

The station's commentator goes on with his commentary as follows. I read the article over and over again. At first, I thought that maybe the writers of the article failed to understand the content of the recent Sino-Soviet talks. However, I found that the article quoted not only the remarks made by Gorbachev and Jiang Zemin, but also passages from the joint communique. Obviously, Gams and Selivanov interpreted these remarks and passages from their own point of view. As a matter of fact, the principles for establishment of Sino-Soviet relations were clearly spelled out during the visit. One of the principles states that it is absolutely out of the question to discuss resumption of the kind of bilateral relations from the 1950's. Neither Moscow nor Beijing will consider establishing a strategic alliance to take concerted action in attacking the countries of the West. There is no such thing at all, and it is impossible to have such a thing. On the contrary, what the two countries are concerned with is maintaining normal and stable relations with every country in the world. Both countries will improve their own situations within the scope of international relations. Recently, Gorbachev emphatically pointed out: Sino-Soviet relations do not belong to any card of a certain global political game. This is an important factor of international stability.

Sino-Soviet Border Situation 'Greatly' Improved

OW2605042291 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin 2200 GMT 22 May 91

[Text] In less than a week, Border Defense Troops Day will be celebrated. The strength of the border defense force of the State Security Council [guo jia an quan wei yuan hui] of the Soviet Union, which is defending the Soviet Union's more than 62,000 km of borders and economic zones, totaled a little over 200,000 at the beginning of this year. Although ethnic conflicts at home have added some difficulties to their work, the improvement of the overall international situation has had a good impact on the border situation, particularly the situation in the Soviet-Chinese border regions.

(Sahanov), adviser to the general bureau of border defense force under the State Security Council, said: The border situation has improved greatly since the normalization of relations between the two countries. The two sides understand each other better. Border representative organizations have been set up to solve problems and eliminate misunderstanding. Of course, both sides are proceeding mainly from their own rational interests, but they also understand the necessity of helping one another to ensure a good border situation.

Colonel (Sahanov) firmly believes: Now, there no longer is any border region where mutual understanding does not exist between Soviet and Chinese border defense personnel.

No border regions can be absolutely quiet, however. For instance, 2,000 to 2,500 people attempt to cross the borders every year, and there are also exchanges of fire [hu xiang she ji] and other hostile incidents. In short, serving in the border region is very risky. Most border defense personnel live in barracks under difficult living conditions, far from residential areas. In view of this, our country has appropriated 2.2 billion rubles [R] to the border defense force. Is it too much or too little for the 200,000 border defense personnel?

Colonel (Sahanov), adviser to the general bureau of border defense force under the State Security Council, said: The R2.2 billion is very little; it is not too much. We have adopted a completely new theory of border defense. New techniques, including electronic techniques, are needed to maintain surveillance over the vast border regions. Recently, we have shown concern over the social security of border defense personnel, trying to solve such questions as how to improve their living conditions and provide them with educational opportunities, as well as their insurance problems.

Xinpjian Uygur Border Officials Visit Alma-Ata

LD2705132691 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1100 GMT 27 May 91

[Text] A delegation of the Border Directorate attached to the Department of Public Security of the Xingjian Uygur Autonomous Region in the PRC has arrived in Alma-Ata. The purpose of the Chinese representatives' visit is to promote the further development of relations between the two border districts and to sum up results of joint work by border control points on the western section of the Soviet-Chinese border.

Rogachev Receives Chinese Amity Society Chairman

PM2405141091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 May 91 Union Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 21 May, I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, received Han Xu, chairman of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries, who is in Moscow at the invitation of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries Presidium. They had a warm and comradely conversation.

U.S. Extension of PRC's MFN Status Viewed

OW2505032191 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin 2200 GMT 22 May 91

[Commentary by station commentator (Karavayev)]

[Text] According to a news report from Washington, the U.S. National Industrialist Association—the oldest and most influential organization of American industrial companies controlling 85 percent of the nation's production—has approved of the extension of China's Most Favored Nation [MFN] status. In this connection, our station commentator (Karavayev) comments as follows:

Controversies over this issue will climax on 3 June, when Washington will announce its decision on this issue, namely, whether it should retain China's MFN status. Presently, government officials, congressional members, and mass media are all sticking to their own views, and no unanimous conclusion can be reached. Some hold that the issue should be resolved without any additional conditions. Others insist that all preferential treatments towards China must be abrogated. Still others say that China must meet certain prerequisites to get an extension of the MFN status. The prerequisites include the human rights question, Beijing's unilateral concessions in its trade with the United States, and restrictions on China's weapon exports. To sum up, their discussions have gone beyond the scope of trade and assumed a political color. What is more, there is no intention to conceal this. For example, Democratic congressman (?Pelosi) told THE NEW YORK TMES unreservedly: We want to use the MFN status as a lever to exert pressure on China.

Today we will comment on the general situation concerning Sino-U.S. relations. Of course, China can in no way be unconcerned about the future of its relations with the United States. Lately, the Beijing authorities have repeatedly stressed that they hope Sino-U.S. relations will develop in a sound and mutually beneficial way on the basis of the five principles for peaceful coexistence and noninterference in each others' internal affairs. Yang Shangkun, president of the People's Republic of China, also expressed this stance in remarks while being interviewed by the influential U.S. weekly (?WORLD ECONOMIC REVIEW). He said that China has no intention of quarreling with the United States. If the MFN status is removed, Yang Shangkun said, China will no doubt suffer losses. However, he added: China has an enormorous economic capacity to withstand the outcome. I do not think that China can be isolated now, for China has established diplomatic and economic relations with over 100 countries.

Overall, quite a number of Americans believe that abrogation of China's MFN status is like a boomerang which is thrown to China but will return to hit the United States. Recently THE NEW YORK TIMES pointed out: The United States will gain nothing by putting economic pressure on China or reducing the levle of trade with China. Discontinuance of trade means placing the sentimental satisfaction and expections of today over and above the hope for major changes tomorrow. U.S. President George Bush endorses this view. He stated that he does not want to isolate China. Many people in Washington take his statement as a hint. That is, even if Congress votes against the MFN status, the U.S. President can exercise the veto. From the announcement made by the U.S. National Industrialist Association, this attitude will be welcomed by American business circles.

Northeast Asia

Rogachev Receives Mongolian Counterpart 21 May

PM2405144991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 May 91 Union Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 21 May, I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, received Zh. Choynkhor, Mongolian first deputy foreign minister. There was an exchange of opinions on vital questions of Soviet-Mongolian relations and on some topical international issues.

Mongolian Ambassador to the USSR N. Mishigdorj participated in the conversation.

Officer Reports Planned Pullout From Mongolia

LD2405221991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1341 GMT 23 May 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Chernov]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 23 May (TASS)—Practically all the military units of the Soviet Army which are temporarily on the territory of Mongolia will be restationed in the Soviet Union this year. This was stated by Major General Vyacheslav Mezun, chief of the group monitoring the withdrawal of Soviet troops, at a news conference held on Wednesday in the capital of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR].

After the completion of the current, third stage in the withdrawal of Soviet troops, he said, approximately 3,000 Soviet servicemen will remain in the MPR. They will guard property and material values and prepare them for dispatching. The dispatching is held up due to the low capacity of the railway from Ulaanbaatar to the Soviet border.

An ecological group supplied with powerful engineering equipment is engaged in putting the territory in order on the sites where Soviet military units were stationed. We, stressed V. Mezun, are not ignoring the claims either of the local bodies of administration or of the nature conservation services of the MPR. Recultivation work was made more difficult in the winter. Now, I think that the demands put forward by the local ecological commissions will be met. All the territories that have been vacated will definitely be given to the local executive administrations of people's deputies. Deeds on the handing over of the land are being drawn up together with the Mongolian side.

The units of the Soviet Army that are being withdrawn are being transferred to the Baykal area military district.

According to the commander of the district's troops, the problems with their stationing will be resolved: Officers and warrant officers and their families will be provided with housing before 1992.

Military Denies Ecological Damage in Mongolia

LD2705165391 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 27 May 91

[Report from Ulaanbaatar by correspondent Vladimir Korolev]

[Text] The Soviet military contingent was stationed on the territory of the People's Republic of Mongolia in accordance with a corresponding agreement signed by the governments of both countries. With the improvement of the international climate, consolidation of trust between countries and their desire for mutual cooperation, it was no longer necessary to keep the Soviet force in Mongolia. It was also made possible by the normalization of relations between the USSR, Mongolia, and the People's Republic of China.

According to the Soviet Command, the complete withdrawal of the Soviet military contingent will be concluded this year already, that is, ahead of schedule. Dozens of Soviet military garrisons with living quarters, schools, canteens, medical posts, and trade complexes have been handed over to Mongolia for free use. This is obviously a great help to the Mongolian people living through a period of an acute economic crisis.

Meanwhile, even such a positive factor as the withdrawal of troops is being used by some groups in Mongolia to cloud Soviet-Mongolian relations. Thus the Mongolian Green Party has called on the government to make an estimate of the damage ostensibly caused by the Soviet military units to the environment and to demand compensation. According to the party leadership, the Soviet troops are leaving the sites of their former location in disorder, violating ecological norms. Their statement, however, has been denied by the chief of the group supervising the withdrawal, General (Mezun). Addressing a news conference in Ulaanbaatar he said that in fact the territory formerly occupied by the Soviet formations is being returned in complete order. This is confirmed by a special ecological commission provided with powerful engineering equipment.

Nevertheless, attempts by some Mongolian circles to make political capital on groundless criticism of the Soviet military cannot overshadow the fact that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Mongolia is normalizing the situation in the region and throughout Asia.

Commentator Views North Korean Nuclear Stand

SK2705035791 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1000 GMT 25 May 91

[Commentary by station commentator (Igayev)]

[Text] The Soviet Union considers it desirable for North Korea to sign a nuclear verification agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA]. This statement was made by Churkin, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, in a press meeting held in Moscow.

Station commentator (Igayev) writes:

By no means does this mean that Moscow is putting pressure on Pyongyang. It means that North Korea is obligated to adhere to a treaty to which it is a signatory. As is widely known, the DPRK signed the treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons in December 1985. This document expects that all signatories place all manner of their nuclear facilities under the control of the IAEA.

This notwithstanding, the DPRK has not signed the accord in question with the IAEA. This only worsens the sense of anxiety surrounding the Korean Peninsula where the issue of nuclear safety has risen so sharply.

Such a sense of anxiety stems primarily from the stationing in South Korea of U.S. troops armed with nuclear equipment. It is natural for North Korea to harbor misgivings toward this fact.

A proposal for turning the Korean Peninsula into a nuclear-free zone, put forward by Pyongyang, has received affirmative responses for some time. For example, the Soviet Union and China support this idea. The proposal for creating a nuclear-free zone is more reasonable as it is expected to gain international guarantees. This, of course, is an indisputable fact.

What is at issue now, however, is adherence to an international agreement already in place. The Soviet Union sees no direct connection between Pyongyang's conditioning the signing of a verification agreement with the IAEA on the presence of U.S. nuclear weapons in South Korea and the treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons.

Stressing that the Soviet Union insists that all member states of the treaty fully and unconditionally adhere to the treaty, Foreign Ministry spokesman Churkin said: At the same time, Moscow believes that the U.S. side can [words indistinct] and also take steps to meet the Pyongyang side halfway.

Near East & South Asia

Soyuz Group Delegation To Visit Iraq in June

LD2705155991 Moscow TASS in English 1542 GMT 27 May 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow May 27 TASS—A delegation of the Soyuz parliamentary group, one of the major in the Soviet parliament, intends to visit Iraq in the first half of June, co-chairman of the group Yuriy Blokhin told TASS.

He said that group members met Iraqi ambassador to the USSR in April, during which the sides discussed Iraqi problems after the Gulf crisis.

"The ambassador made an oral invitation to the Syouz parliamentary group to visit Iraq so that we could draw our own conclusions about the situation in that country. We received an official written invitation last week," Blokhin noted.

According to him, the delegation will consist of about ten legislators led by Soyuz co-chairman Anatoliy Chekhoyev.

"The aim of the visit is a fact-finding trip to appraise the situation in Iraq after the war: to visit sites of recent battles and places where Kurds settle," Blokhin said, adding that the visit's aim was prompted by scarce information about the Gulf war.

He noted that no meetings with Iraqi officials were planned. "We just want to familiarise ourselves with the situation on the spot," Blokhin stressed.

The visit of the delegation to Iraq is expected to begin early in June and will last not longer than a week, Blokhin concluded.

Officials To Investigate Plane Crash in Iran

LD2605000291 Moscow TASS in English 1952 GMT 25 May 91

[By TASS correspondent Ravil Musin]

[Text] Tehran May 25 TASS—A Soviet Aeroflot official and a diplomat from the Consulate Department of the Soviet Embassy in Iran on Saturday left for Bakhtaran Province, where a Soviet IL-76 cargo aircraft crashed on Friday, killing four and injuring six Soviet crew.

Four out of six survivers were in a critical condition, and Iranian physicians made their best to save their lives. The plane's commander and second pilot were admitted to a central hospital in the city of Bakhtaran, where they undergone surgical operations, the IRNA news agency reports.

Physicians said on Saturday that the Soviet patients feel better.

The commander has been placed into Tehran's hospital for further treatment.

The IL-76 of the Bulgarian airline operated by the Soviet crew crashed ten kilometers from Bakhtaran's airport at 7:55 local time on Friday.

The plane had been chartered by the International Red Cross Committee to deliver a load of humanitarian aid to Iraqi refugees in Iran from West Germany, the news agency says.

The commander's taped radio reports to air controllers show that the plane, running short of fuel, requested an emergency landing, the province's governor says.

The plane was unable to land because of bad weather. Apparently, the commander decided to land in a valley near the airport. While landing, the plane touched a mountain summit surrounding the valley and fell down. The plane went on flames on impact.

Low clouds and winds prevented helicopters with rescue teams from reaching the place of the crash. Rescuers had to go by cars through a mountain pass.

Further Reportage on Yanayev Visit to New Delhi

Expresses Condolences to Leaders

LD2405095991 Moscow TASS in English 0903 GMT 24 May 91

[by TASS correspondent Sergei Karmalito]

[Text] New Delhi May 24 TASS—Soviet Vice-President Gennadiy Yanayev, leader of the Soviet delegation that is taking part here in Rajiv Gandhi mourning ceremonies, met today Indian President Ramaswamy Venkataraman, Vice-President Shankar Dayal Sharma and Acting Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar. On behalf of the Soviet leadership and the Soviet people, he expressed profound condolences to the Indian leaders and people.

It was noted during the talks that it is necessary to promote and further strengthen traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between the USSR and India.

In the morning the Soviet delegation visited the Tin Murti Bhawan memorial, the former residence of independent India's first prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru—Rajiv Gandhi's grandfather. The assassinated Indian leader lies there in state.

Wreaths were laid at the flowers-decked bier. They bore the inscriptions: "To the great friend of the Soviet Union and remarkable person Rajiv Gandhi from the president of the USSR" and "to the outstanding Indian statesman and political figure of India Rajiv Gandhi from the vice-president of the USSR".

Yanayev wrote the following words in the book of condolences: "I am expressing the feelings of profound grief of the Soviet people in connection with the tragic assassination of the outstanding political and state leader of friendly India—Rajiv Gandhi. Everything done by him in order to build a more secure, just and humane world, and to strengthen relations between our countries, will be well remembered in the Soviet Union. Not only India alone, but all of us will be missing Rajiv Gandhi.

Sharing the shock and the sorrow of the Indian people, I wish to express confidence that the national and human ideals to which Rajiv Gandhi devoted his entire life till the last moment, will be embodied in the deeds of his successors and followers for the benefit of great India and the world community."

In the afternoon the casket with Rajiv Gandhi's body will be placed on a gun-carriage. The funeral procession, escorted

by a guard of honour consisting of different arms of the service, will move towards the Shakti Sthala memorial, where Indira Gandhi was cremated. Rajiv Gandhi's body will also be cremated there on the banks of the holy Jamuna River in keeping with Indian traditions.

Meets Venkataraman, Sharma, Shekhar

LD2505195291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2041 GMT 24 May 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Karmalito]

[Text] Delhi, 24 May (TASS)—The official Soviet delegation here headed by USSR Vice President G. Yanayev took part today in the funeral rites for the tragic death of Rajiv Gandhi.

On 24 May, G.I. Yanayev held talks with Indian President Ramaswami Venkataraman, Vice President Shankar Dayal Sharma, and Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar.

In the name of USSR President M.S. Gorbachev, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the entire Soviet people, deepest sympathies were expressed to the Indian leaders following the murder of the outstanding state and political figure, successor and maintainer of the great national work of Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi. R. Gandhi's significant contribution in developing friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and India on many levels was noted and it was emphasized that the Soviet leadership considers the further strengthening of friendly relations with India to be a main priority in the development of its foreign policy activities.

R. Venkataraman asked them to convey to Moscow sincere gratitude for the condolences sent by the USSR president which deeply touched the heart of every Indian.

The Indian leaders stated that the people of their country have the determination necessary to overcome the trial which has been visited upon them as a result of the malicious actions of terrorists. The masses have not surrendered to provocation, the situation in the country as a whole remains stable, and the interrupted electoral process will be concluded in an orderly fashion. It was also noted that the Soviet Union's support for India is particularly valuable at this tragic time for the country. The Indian leaders expressed their firm intention to expand various forms of cooperation with the Soviet Union.

V.M. Falin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, I.A. Rogachev, a USSR deputy minister of foreign affair, and V.F. Isakov, the USSR ambassador to India, also participated in the meetings.

On the same day, G.I. Yanayev met with representatives from a number of countries in Delhi for R. Gandhi's funeral.

In conversation with Hans-Dietrich Genscher, deputy federal chancellor and FRG minister of foreign affairs, which took place in a constructive atmosphere, the prospects for creating a new climate for the world economy were examined. H. Genscher stated the FRG's interest in the large-scale integration of the Soviet Union into the European economic system.

During a conversation with U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle, various aspects of preparations for the next Soviet-U.S. summit meeting, economic relations, and also the domestic political situation in the USSR were discussed.

A broad range of issues was discussed during the meeting with Nawaz Sharif, the prime minister of Pakistan. The Soviet side placed emphasis on the settlement of the Afghan problem and the inadmissibility of foreign interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. There was an exchange of views on determining the fate and seeing the return of Soviet prisoners of war who are in the hands of the Afghan opposition. Mutual understanding on the further coordination of the actions of the USSR and Pakistan on this issue was reached.

Talks With Najibullah, Mohajerani

LD2505165191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0630 GMT 25 May 91

[Text] The meetings between USSR Vice President Yanayev and representatives of foreign countries attending the solemn events connected with the tragic death of Rajiv Gandhi have continued in the Indian capital.

The USSR vice president held talks with Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan. The sides discussed the current situation around Afghanistan.

Today Gennadiy Yanayev met Mohajerani, deputy president of Iran. During the conversation, consideration was given to the prospects for setting up a security system in the Near East following the conclusion of military operations in the Persian Gulf.

Concludes Visit, Returns Home

LD2505192691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 25 May 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The Soviet delegation headed by USSR Vice President Yanayev returned from India today, after attending the funeral of Rajiv Gandhi, who died tragically. Before he left by air, Gennadiy Yanayev had a meeting in Delhi with President Najibullah of Afghanistan and Iranian Vice President Mohajerani.

Gandhi's Contribution to Bilateral Ties Lauded

PM2405140491 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 May 91 Second Edition p 5

[Report from Delhi by correspondent V. Baykov: "India Says Good-Bye"]

[Excerpts] In the very center of the Indian capital, behind an iron fence, is a two-story house with columns. Here, in Teen Murti house—the former residence of

Jawaharlal Nehru, first prime minister of independent India—there stands the coffin containing the body of Rajiv Gandhi, president of the Indian National Congress (I) party and former Indian prime minister, who died 21 May as a result of a terrorist act.

There is an endless stream of people coming to say good-bye to the illustrious son of the Indian people. Indian President R. Venkataraman and R. Gandhi's family are receiving messages of condolence from many countries of the world. A message has arrived from M.S. Gorbachev, president of the Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

Many political observers saw R. Gandhi as the future prime minister.

Rajiv Gandhi gave a convincing account of himself on foreign policy questions. He persistently implemented the principles of the Nonaligned Movement and consistently advocated the normalization of relations with neighboring countries—China, Pakistan, Sri Landa, and Nepal. Like J. Nehru and I. Gandhi, he was a great friend to the Soviet Union. "We value highly the broad links with the Soviet Union which have withstood the test of time and are based on cooperation, reciprocity, friendship, and vitally important support in those cases when it is most necessary," Rajiv Gandhi said.

The Soviet Union's peace initiatives met with warm support in India. The Delhi Declaration, signed by M.S. Gorbachev and R. Gandhi on 27 November 1986, was a major joint contribution by the USSR and India to the cause of peace. Nonviolence in politics, a world free from nuclear weapons, equality and free development for the peoples—those are the principles which the two countries' leaders called on the world community to adopt as a basis for building its future....

The endless human river flows between the gates of Teen Murti. [passage omitted]

Vorontsov Supports UN Resolution on Palestinians

LD2505221391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0200 GMT 25 May 91

[Text] New York, 25 May (TASS)—Speaking at a session of the United Nations, Yuriy Vorontsov, the permanent representative of the USSR at the UN, noted that the resolution that has been adopted by the Security Council [on the deportation of Palestinians by Israel] is timely and important. Nobody can deny that the Palestinians in the occupied territories are in acute need of help and protection from the United Nations. In connection with this the Soviet Union fully supports the demand for the return of the deported Palestinians.

We consider, the Soviet representative went on, that such actions by the Israeli authorities bring in an additional element of destabilization and nervousness into an already explosive situation in the occupied territories. Israel should soberly and realistically assess the consequences of deportation as well as the policy of setting up Israeli settlements in the occupied territories which undermine the efforts that are being made to reach a settlement in the Near East.

Y.M. Vorontsov underlined that there are already possibilities for a settlement in the nearest future. This was stated clearly during the recent tour of the Near East by USSR Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, as well as by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker. We are convinced that the international community must step up its participation in the efforts for the establishment of peace and stability in the region and take practical steps for the implementation of the UN resolution in the establishment of a fair and lasting peace in the Near East. The Soviet Union, in turn, intends to continue to do everything to help in establishing a comprehensive settlement in the Near East, including the solution of the Palestinian problem. In connection with this, the need of forbidding any kind of action which may undermine the developing process of finding a solution to the Palestinian problem is of special significance.

Foreign Ministry 'Welcomes' UN Afghan Initiative

PM2805101191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 May 91 Union Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "USSR Foreign Ministry Spokesman's Statement"]

[Text] On 21 May, UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar issued a statement containing an appeal to all Afghan political leaders to work for peace and a political settlement in that country. The statement sets out the principles of such a settlement which, in the secretary general's opinion, could be acceptable to the majority of the Afghan people and form the basis of future accords.

The UN secretary general's initiative will undoubtedly be a weighty contribution to unblocking the Afghan problem, whose solution has been delayed unjustifiably long. The Soviet Union welcomes this important step, which demonstrates on the one hand the United Nations' understanding of its considerable role in the Afghan settlement and, on the other hand, the fact that an international consensus on ways and means of achieving a political solution to the problem is emerging in the international community, first and foremost among the countries most involved in Afghan affairs. Indeed, the Afghans themselves are becoming increasingly aware that there is no alternative to a political solution of their internal problems. As for the Afghan Government, its entire practical activity is aimed at seeking a political compromise at the negotiating table.

It is to be hoped that ideas based on existing realities and the interests of the Afghan people, who have grown tired of bloodshed, will also prevail among the Afghan opposition.

Following the General Assembly's consensus resolution on Afghanistan, Perez de Cuellar's statement should be regarded as the next positive result of coordinated joint efforts by the United Nations and the world community

aimed at eliminating a chronic and very dangerous regional conflict, which is intensifying the already tense situation in the Near and Middle East. The principles of the Afghan settlement enshrined in the secretary general's statement, specifically the establishment of a transitional period whose operational mechanism is to be determined via international dialogue, the holding of free elections to form a broad-based government, the ending of military actions and arms deliveries to all the Afghan sides, and so forth, form the basis for a constructive and meaningful discussion, primarily by the Afghans themselves, on ways to achieve an all-embracing solution based on a balance of the sides' interests.

We are confident that the UN secretary general's initiative will give new impetus to the efforts to end military operations in Afghanistan and will help to launch dialogue between the sides in the conflict. The Soviet Union for its part is ready to continue working actively to find ways to unblock the Afghan problem in accordance with the principles forming the basis of the secretary general's statement.

Envoy Says PLO 'Open for Compromise'

OW2805090791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1500 GMT 27 May 91

[Text] PLO envoy in the Soviet Union, Mr Nabil M. 'Amr, spoke in an exclusive interview with DP [Diplomatic Panorama] correspondent Igor Porshnev.

Speaking about PLO's position on a Middle East peace settlement, Mr. Nabil M. 'Amr stressed that PLO was not opposed to "any conference under the aegis of international law". However, in his view, the principle of "land for peace" must lie at the basis of any solution to the issue. But it is up to the United Nations itself to decide whetehr or not it must attend the conference independently or together with other Arab states.

Mr. Nabil M. 'Amr said an end to the construction of further Israeli settlements in the occupied territories would help towards an early peace in the region. However, he pointed out that the United Nations which proved its effectiveness during the Gulf crisis must be involved in a Middle East peace conference. The ambassador said PLO was "open for compromise".

He regretted that a number of misleading publications had appeared in the Soviet press misinterpreting PLO positions. It is claimed that PLO has no right to represent the Palestinians on the grounds that it had no mandate from the electorate. That PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people is also put to question (the ambassador referred to an IZVESTIYA publication of May 15, 1991 by V. Skosyrev which, as he put it, "embarrassed" him). Mr. Nabil M. 'Amr doubted that such publications could help ease the quest for ways of a Middle East settlement.

The ambassador said "the whole world, except Israel, gave recognition to the PLO. Even the United States does not deny that the PLO represents the Palestinian people. It must [be] borne in mind, he went on to say, that PLO has an observer status at the United Nations, and it is widely recognised that no Middle East settlement is possible without its participation".

In reply to a question whether the IZVESTIYA publication reflected a policy change towards PLO by Soviet officals, Mr. Nabil M. 'Amr said flatly: "No". He described the Soviet position on the issue as principled and constructive. "The Soviet Union, he stressed, plays an important role in the regional peace process and is therefore keen to conduct dialogue with the genuine representative of the Palestinian people." [quotation marks as received] The ambassador said he saw no other groups or organizations which could represent the interests of the Palestinian people.

Mr Nabil M. 'Amr said that although the author of the IZVESTIYA publication was well-versed in the regional situation, he'd made incorrect conclusions from the current developments there. He said PLO was not opposed to Palestinian representatives being elected freely, but democratic elections (and therefore the possibility of PLO obtaining a popular mandate) were being blocked by the Israeli occupation.

The ambassador suggested that a negative assessment of PLO's role and place in the Middle East peace process had been caused by its behaviour during the Gulf crisis. He said that ever since the first days of the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait PLO had urged for Iraqi troop withdrawals from that country. At the same time, he said, there was a need to maintain relations with Baghdad to be able to influence Iraq. However, he said, PLO's position was not understood well enough and that's why it is now having to settle the old bills.

Mr. Nabil M. 'Amr called to look into the future but not to concentrate on the past. PLO is ready to cooperate with the Soviet Union, the United States and the international community as a whole to bring about a Middle East settlement.

The ambassador raised doubts about the need for restoring diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Israel. He said Israel was playing on its contacts with Soviet officials in an effort to derive a unilateral advantage, as shown by its position during a recent visit to Israel by the Soviet foreign minister, Mr. Bessmertnykh. Israel, he said, immediately put forth excessive demands and tried to sway Moscow on its side by linking the issue of Soviet participation in a Middle East conference with the renewal of diplomatic relations. "I am well aware of the Soviet Union's good intentions, but the main stumbling block is the position held by Israel which is "scared of peace" and unwillings to make any concessions," he said. [quotation marks as received]

Mr. Nabil M. 'Amr spoke at length about a recent meeting between M. Besmertnykh and PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat, pointing to its exploratory character. He said: "The PLO advanced a package of proposals which could help the Soviet Union to speak on behalf of the Palestinians in

discussing or solving certain issues. However, the ambassador said, "it was early days yet to make it public".

Sub-Saharan Africa

Foreign Ministry Official Comments on Ethiopia

OW2705154491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 24 May 91

[By I. Porshev, diplomatic correspondent; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" Feature]

[Text] DP [Diplomatic Panorama] asked a senior Soviet Foreign Ministry staffer for comments on the latest developments in Ethiopia. The diplomat who requested anonymity said that the Soviet line on the problem was largely described in a recent statement of the Soviet Foreign Ministry. "The heart of our approach is to help to stop the bloodshed in that country in eastern Africa as soon as possible," emphasized the diplomat.

According to the diplomat, the situation in Ethiopia may become uncontrollable any moment. "Nothing but a cease-fire can prevent this, which will create a more favourable climate for holding political talks to reach a settlement in Ethiopia," he said.

Today Ethiopia's age old multi-ethnic community is in danger. He also noted that not only the Soviet Union but also—which is "no less important"—the United States and a number of other countries are seeking a cease-fire and a peaceful settlement in Ethiopia.

The diplomat replied in the affirmative when asked if the Soviet Union maintained any contacts with the Ethiopian opposition: "Such contacts are maintained via the opposition's representative offices in a number of African capitals". "The Ethiopian government definitely knows of this," he said.

He also mentioned "sporadic contacts" with the Ethiopian opposition in the course of the efforts to have several Soviet military advisers freed after they had been captured by the opposition and detained until March 1988.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry staffer also confirmed information that in recent months the Soviet Union has reduced its presence in Ethiopia. According to him, work is over at a number of projects Soviet experts were employed at, and they left for home. Besides, says the diplomat, "the operation of Soviet representative offices abroad is being streamlined, and a vacation period has begun. We will take appropriate steps in case an immediate danger emerges to Soviet citizens in Ethiopia," he said.

Asked about how many Soviet military advisers worked in Ethiopia, the diplomat replied that over the recent years "their number has been reduced many times". He also specified that the above applies to consultants, not advisers: "We are downgrading our military advisers. As a rule, they are now consultants, not advisers."

He also noted that at present the Soviet-Ethiopian military cooperation is "being put on a different, contact-based, level".

PRAVDA Views Reasons for Mengistu's 'Flight'

PM2405111591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 May 91 First Edition p 4

[Special correspondent S. Demidov report: "President Has Left. Will Peace Come? Where Is Dramatic Turn of Events in Ethiopia Leading"]

[Text] Addis Ababa—Moscow—"To ensure that the bloodshed ends and peace comes, the president must leave his post—this is what many compatriots believe. Having pondered this, Mengistu Haile Mariam has set power aside and gone abroad...."

The residents of Addis Ababa reacted in a restrained manner to these words of the report, read out over the radio 21 May, by the republic's Council of State—the supreme executive organ of the Ethiopian Parliament. The 1.5 million people in the capital are continuing to live their everyday concerns.

The "temperature" of the sociopolitical tension in the country leaped at the end of February. At that time the kilometer-long lines for gasoline and gas cylinders and the not just daily but hourly rising prices of literally all goods were compounded by a war between the central government of the PDRE [People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia] and various opposition groupings, particularly the EPLF [Eritrean People's Liberation Front] and the TPLF [Tigre People's Liberation Front].

EPLF armed formations seeking secession for the northern autonomous province of Eritrea and the TPLF, which advocates "genuine democracy" in the province of Tigre, coordinated their actions and simultaneously switched to an offensive in a number of regions. Strikes were made against strategic roads linking Addis Ababa with northern and western provinces. Guns began rumbling even around the capital's province.

It was at this difficult time that the PDRE president, who also held the posts of supreme commander in chief of the armed forces and general secretary of the Workers Party of Ethiopia Central Committee, left the country.

Of course, the virtual flight of Mengistu Haile Mariam was occasioned not only by the battlefield successes of his enemies. It was also, to a considerable extent, a consequence of disagreements within his own leadership and of inconsistency in the approach to resolving ethnic problems. The leader of the Ethiopian revolution, as the president was known, had extended the "olive branch" of peace, as it were, to the opposition fronts and called them to a dialogue, but, at the same time, he stated his own terms and continued to operate by "fire and sword."

As of 1988, the country had endured several general mobilizations into the army. And the open wound of conflict bled ceaselessly. The longest war in Africa showed no sign of ending.

You will find few Ethiopian families which have been bypassed by the evil of war. Almost every family has a father, son, or brother at the front. The hospitals are overcrowded, and this is not the first year that elderly men and even small boys have been drafted. But the government troops are suffering defeat after defeat.

The economy is faltering because of excessive military spending. According to official data, the PDRE authorities were spending between 60 and 75 percent of the state budget annually on the exhausting struggle against the EPLF, the TPLF, and other "fronts." Ethiopia's foreign debt is mushrooming.

Mengistu Haile Mariam was unable to cope with all this. The reason should be sought in the fact that his regime is of a totalitarian nature. Although the president gave many promises after the attempted military coup in Addis Ababa undertaken by a group of soldiers 16 May 1989 and a revolt by the command of the 2d Army stationed in Eritrea, not one of them was fulfilled.

So, on Tuesday the former Ethiopian leader arrived in Zimbabwe, where he has reportedly acquired an estate and property. The Ethiopians themselves still have to assess the 14-year period of his rule. But this is not the chief thing for them at present. They now have a vital need to find the road to peace, which has been absent for decades on the "roof of Africa," as geographers figuratively call this mountainous country. Vice President Tesfaye Gebre-Kidan, who has been made acting head of state, has declared his readiness to hold talks with all opposition forces on the question of forming a transitional coalition government. To all appearances, however, the opposition is inclined to regard the peaceable gestures as a sign of weakness, particularly in the light of Mengistu's flight.

Churkin on Evacuation of Soviets From Ethiopia

LD2705125891 Moscow TASS in English 1243 GMT 27 May 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev, Sergey Postanogov, and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow May 27 TASS—The last Soviet group of women and children, members of families of Soviet specialists working in Ethiopia, returned to Moscow on Sunday, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing here today.

Spokesman Vitaliy Churkin made the statement in connection with the complex military and political situation in Ethiopia.

Most Soviet citizens who still remain in Ethiopia will soon be evacuated to the Soviet Union via Aden, Churkin said.

After that, some 170 Soviet citizens, including over 50 physicians and medical workers and some 50 geologists, will remain in Ethiopia, Churkin said.

Further on Evacuation

LD2405223191 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 24 May 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Yesterday, we quoted remarks made at a Foreign Ministry briefing by Vitaliy Churkin to the effect that preparations were under way to evacuate Soviet citizens from Ethiopia. "Vesti" asked him for details on this today. He said that the systematic evacuation of Soviet people—not just diplomats, but also military advisers, geologists, builders, and many others—would be carried out in a month. More than half of our women and children have already been brough out of the country. To date, almost all the Soviet specialists are in the protected premises of the Soviet Embassy, in Addis Ababa. The only exception is a small group of oil workers who will be taken to a safe place soon, after they finish cementing oil wells. Only a small group of employees of the embassy and trade mission and doctors at the capital's Red Cross hospital will remain in Ethiopia. Vitaliy Churkin also said that in recent years Moscow has had repeated contacts with representatives of Ethiopian insurgents in an attempt to get talks going with the aim of reaching a settlement of the country's situation. According to him, the talks passed normally: the opposition does not show any hostility to our country's representatives.

Possible USSR-South Africa Society Discussed

LD2605132991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2045 GMT 25 May 91

[Text] A meeting aimed at setting up a Soviet Union-South Africa society has taken place in Moscow. Representatives of the public discussed questions with regard to cultural and scientific links between South African democratic circles which are prepared to cooperate with Soviet organizations. The great interest shown in South Africa toward Russian culture was noted. For instance, preparations are under way there now for the celebration of the jubilee of Petr Ilich Tchaikovsky.

The participants in the meeting were unanimous that there is a need to promote the exchange of information between the two countries, and decided to hold a constituent assembly of the society on 26 June.

Gorbachev's African Liberation Day Message

PM2705133191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 May 91 Second Edition p 1

[Undated message on African Liberation Day from USSR President M. Gorbachev "To the Heads of State and Government and to the Peoples of African Countries"]

[Text] I send good wishes to the leaders and peoples of African countries on the occasion of African Liberation Day.

Africa is experiencing a complex stage in its development. Colonialism has been done away with, but its consequences are still being tangibly felt. The process of dismantling apartheid is under way in the Republic of South Africa. A ray of hope has appeared for the peaceful settlement of certain armed conflicts. The trend toward integration is becoming stronger but many countries' economies are experiencing a crisis, and the threat of famine and ecological disasters is growing.

Soviet people understand the African peoples' concerns and aspirations and sympathize with their difficult struggle for living conditions worthy of man. We are for the progress of all the continent's countries on the basis of freedom of choice. We support the OAU's efforts to settle and avert conflicts and to establish inter-African collaboration.

Regarding the African community as an important and influential factor in the future world order, the Soviet Union is ready for a joint quest for answers to the challenges of the time and for equal cooperation with African states.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev

Sale of 'Lethal Weapons' to Angola to Cease

OW1705062891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1500 GMT 16 May 91

[From "Diplomatic Panorama"]

[Text] Although the armed conflict in Angola is continuing after May 15, the date provisionally agreed upon for a cease fire, the Soviet Foreign Ministry has a positive view of the perspectives for regulating the conflict in the country. The diplomat we talked to said that great hopes were being put on the transitional period beginning on May 31, when a cease fire agreement will be signed in Portugal, and ending in September 1992, when multi-party elections will be held in Angola.

Immediately after May 31 the USSR and the USA are to stop the supply to Angola of what the Soviet diplomat called "lethal weapons", meaning that the ban does not include the supply of spare parts for weapons. The USA and the USSR also intend to call on third countries—Czechoslovakia, Brazil, Morocco and other—to follow their example.

On the whole the situation in Angola, according to the Soviet diplomat, is such that the war which has lasted many years could fairly soon be stopped. He went on to say that perestroyka in the Soviet Union had helped to encourage the process of change in Angola, in particular the introduction of a multi-party system and the de politicisation of and cuts in the armed forces. The ruling MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] party contains as many varying opinions as the communist party in the USSR. A severe economic and financial crisis is being felt, many are worried by the bleak future as a result of a growth in unemployment following the end of armed conflict. Angolans still have to morally and spiritually turn away from war.

The present situation is being made worse by the fact that the opposition UNITA [National Union for the Total Independent of Angola] party has activated the armed struggle with the goal of showing its influence in the country by capturing a municipal center. At the same time, neither now nor at any point in the past was there a case of Soviet advisers being taken hostage, which shows the desire of UNITA to see in the Soviet Union a possible future partner. This may be a result of the meeting in Washington last December between the then Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr Shevardnadze, and the leader of UNITA, Mr Jonas Savimbi.

In a special interview with "Diplomatic Panorama", the Soviet diplomat gave high praise to the role of Portugal as a mediator in the last six rounds of talks between the Angolan Government and UNITA. At the same time, the mission of the USSR and the USA, who took part in the talks as observers, was not limited to "passive observation". Rather it was a case of "active work" when "what seemed like two irreconcileable sides shook hands across the discussion table." The not insignificant contribution of the USA and the USSR also included producing the compromises that went into the final text. At the "hottest" moments Moscow would receive up to three telephone calls from Lisbon. The diplomat had a high opinion of the international cooperation in search of a solution for the problems in Angola.

East Europe

Bessmertnykh, Jeszenszky Hold 'Constructive' Talks

LD2405142891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1847 GMT 23 May 91

[Text] Moscow, 23 May (TASS)—Talks were held here today between USSR Foreign Affairs Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh and Hungarian Foreign Affairs Minister Geza Jeszenszky, who has been in Moscow on a working visit.

In the course of a thorough exchange of views, they discussed a broad range of issues concerning the renewal and further development of Soviet-Hungarian relations

and cooperation between the two countries in international affairs within the context of the fundamental changes that have taken place in Europe and the world.

The overall aim was confirmed of broadening the range of cooperation between the USSR and Hungary, of reinforcing its legislative base, and of introducing the optimum forms of economic and trade, scientific, and cultural links, called for on the strength of the need to give relations between the two neighboring states a fundamentally new character.

The importance of maintaining regular political dialogue between the Soviet Union and Hungary at all levels, and the need for the wider involvement of parliamentary structures within this was noted. It was emphasized that in the present conditions, the continuation of constructive cooperation between the Foreign Ministries of the two countries, which has already proved its worth, is of great importance. It was stated that the extension of Soviet-Hungarian cooperation in the field of foreign policy is required to ensure the effective implementation of the protocol on consultations between the USSR Foreign Affairs Ministry and the Foreign Affairs Ministry of the Hungarian Republic, which was signed during the visit.

A series of issues related to the implementation of intergovernmental agreements on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungarian territory was throroughly examined.

In the course of the talks the mutual interest of both sides in preserving and developing the positive elements built up over many years of Soviet-Hungarian cooperation in the field of humanitarian cooperation, contact between people, cultural and scientific exchanges, and direct economic links was confirmed.

The ministers expressed themselves in favor of completing preparations for a new broadly-based political agreement prompted by the need to set relations between the USSR and Hungary on a long- term basis, exempt from market vacillations, which would guarantee favorable opportunities for productive partnership and cooperation in all spheres of Soviet-Hungarian cooperation.

Concerning discussion of international issues, both sides agreed about the necessity of preserving a fast pace in their advance toward the goals set out at the CSCE Paris summit. On this level, the great significance of the first session of the Council of CSCE Foreign Ministers, which will be held in Berlin in June 1991, and other forthcoming CSCE forums, was emphasized.

The sides expressed their support for the development of multilateral cooperation in the Balkans as an integral part of the general European process. The efforts of the Balkan states aimed at reinforcing mutual understanding and good-neighborliness in the region were evaluated positively.

The talks proceeded in a businesslike atmosphere and were characterized by their frankness and constructive nature on both sides.

Geza Jeszenszky invited Aleksandr Bessmertnykh to visit to Hungary. The invitation was gratefully accepted.

Last Soviet Military Unit Leaves CSFR

LD2805101891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0940 GMT 28 May 91

[By TASS correspondent Igor Shamshin]

[Text] Prague, 28 May (TASS)—The last Soviet military unit, a defense battalion of the Central Group of Forces, left for home on Monday from the town of Milovice, where it was stationed.

Only a Soviet "liquidation group" of 800 officers and men remains in Czechoslovakia. Before 20 June it is to hand over to the Czechoslovakian side all facilities used by the Soviet army units. It is expected that the final protocol on the withdrawal of Soviet troops will be signed on 26 June, CTK reports.

West Europe

Pavlov, FRG's Moellemann Discuss Economics

LD2705213291 Moscow TASS in English 2051 GMT 27 May 91

[Text] Moscow May 27 TASS—An in-depth exchange of views on a variety of aspects of bilateral relations between the Soviet Union and Germany took place today during a conversation between Soviet Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov and visiting German Economics Minister Juergen Moellemann.

A major impulse to the further development of relations will be given by the package of treaties and agreements, the ratification of which by the Bundestag will end in a few days.

These documents contain a wide-ranging programme of Soviet-German cooperation for years ahead. Pavlov and Moellemann reaffirmed the determination of their governments to consistently translate these agreements into life and work towards transforming their choice in favour of good-neighbourliness and partnership into a new quality of interaction between the two countries in different directions.

Special attention was devoted to the further development of economic cooperation and the overcoming of difficulties it runs against. In this context the sides examined aspects of maintaining traditional business links between Soviet enterprises and their partners in the five new states of Federal Germany.

The sides discussed in detail problems relating to the building of housing for Soviet troops withdrawn from German territory. They discussed the possibility of creating conditions facilitating the involvement of German firms and Soviet building organisations in the effort.

The Soviet prime minister told Moellemann about the crisis programme worked out in the Soviet Union and measures being taken by the USSR Cabinet of Ministers in order to create the required infrastructure for wide-ranging cooperation with foreign firms.

Moellemann stressed that the German Government regarded Soviet perestroyka reforms as an integral prerequisite for strengthening peace and stability in Europe and proceeded from the need to render assistance to the USSR. The German side is ready to render further assistance to transformations in the Soviet Union by developing comprehensive cooperation with the country.

Capital Goods Orders Placed

LD2705155291 Hamburg DPA in German 1350 GMT 27 May 91

[Text] Moscow (DPA/VWD)—Federal Economics Minister Juergen Moellemann and Soviet Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov have agreed further USSR orders worth 1.2 billion Deutschmarks [DM] for eastern Germany. The minister said this in Moscow at the end of his talks on Monday. On Tuesday Pavlov will brief him about Soviet orders placed with eastern German shipyards in Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania.

According to Moellemann, the USSR intends to order in eastern Germany capital goods worth a total of about DM12 billion. This is a "very important signal for the enterprises in eastern Germany," the minister said. After Moellemann's last visit to the USSR at the start of this year orders worth DM9 billion were agreed; DM4.8 billion of these have so far been confirmed.

According to DPA information, the Soviet Union has also expressed the wish to receive a bridging loan from the federal government amounting to DM2 billion to settle claims by German enterprises.

Discuss G-7 Summit

LD2705161291 Hamburg DPA in German 1427 GMT 27 May 91

[Excerpts] Moscow (DPA/VWD)—Federal Economics Minister Juergen Moellemann and Soviet Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov have agreed on further orders from the USSR for eastern Germany worth 1.2 billion deutschemarks. [passage omitted]

Moellemann said that the USSR is also interested in further deliveries from eastern German companies in 1992, but the conditions for these will have to be discussed.

Moellemann said that with regard to housing construction for the soldiers returning from eastern Germany, both sides want "to avoid contentious arguments" in the future. At the moment, the next invitation to tender for 10 projects in the Ukraine and Belorussia is in its final phase. The 50 international companies in the final phase of the competition include 17 German firms. Public discussions should be avoided in the future.

Moellemann said that the three-hour 30-minute talks with Pavlov also dealt with possible cooperation of the seven leading western industrial countries at their July summit in London "for shoring up and supporting the reform process" in the USSR. "We agreed that it would be good if President Gorbachev would participate in this summit." Moellemann said it would be "even better," however, if a "clarification of intentions to support the economic reform process in the USSR" is made there.

Germans Said Interfering With Troop Mobility

LD2505075491 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 0700 GMT 25 May 91

[Excerpts] The German press campaign to compromise the former GDR leadership continues. Our correspondent Anatoliy Stepkin reports from Berlin.

[Stepkin] [passage omitted] But, alas, there is one other interesting aspect. While trying to find violations in the actions of former GDR politicians, the authorities—the new authorities—themselves often overstep the mark of legality.

In the vicinity of a Soviet military airfield near the headquarters of the Western Group of troops, the police blocked all the approach roads. The command of the Western Group of troops had not been notified. Literally all Soviet vehicles were checked. But such actions run counter to the provisions of an international treaty—the treaty on the terms for the stay of Soviet troops on the territory of the FRG. That document, which confers on Soviet troops the right to move freely along the roads, was signed by the German side at the highest level.

Pugo on Drug, Crime Agreement With FRG

LD2505031191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 24 May 91

[Statement by Minister of Internal Affairs Boris Pugo on an agreement with the FRG on 24 May; place not given; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The USSR and Germany are two large countries. It is necessary to say that their development is continuing. In particular, the agreement signed today is part of numerous contacts between our ministries aimed at improving work in combatting crime. The document signed today between the ministries of our countries envisages cooperation in the sphere of combatting organized crime and drug trafficking. Contacts between our countries in this sphere have always existed, but it seems that now they will receive greater practical development. No doubt this will be of use to both sides.

Margaret Thatcher Arrives on Four-Day Visit

LD2605194591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 26 May 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Margaret Thatcher arrived in Moscow today on a four-day visit. It is the first time in recent years that she is visiting our country not with the rank of head of the British Cabinet, but as a private citizen. It is anticipated that conversations will be held with the country's president, Mikhail Gorbachev, the prime minister, Valentin Pavlov, and the defense minister, Dmitriy Yazov.

Talks With Gorbachev

LD2705183291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1743 GMT 27 May 91

[Text] Moscow, 27 May (TASS)—Mikhail Gorbachev and Margaret Thatcher met in the Kremlin today. Being invariably interested in everything that takes place in the Soviet Union, she once more ascertained the enormity of the changes that have already taken place here thanks to perestroyka. In her words, if, at the beginning of her work in the post of prime minister of Great Britain, somebody had said that such a thing could take place in the USSR, no one would have believed it. The whole world is interested in the success of perestroyka. History will never forgive anyone if what has been achieved over those years is lost. Such was the refrain of her discourse on problems and difficulties in the USSR which she understands well and which she strives to help in overcoming.

Mikhail Gorbachev, speaking in detail and frankly in the spirit of friendship that marks their relations, analyzed the situation in the country and briefed Margaret Thatcher on the projects and principles of reforming the Union and overcoming the crisis.

This new meeting between two figures without whom a great deal would not have taken place in the 1980's has taken place at a crucial time.

Primarily the conversation, full of profound reflections on the present and the future, concerned the imperatives of the new phase in the world development which from today is indissolubly linked with the fate of perestroyka, and about how to give it a second wind.

Addresses Moscow Students

LD2705173791 Moscow TASS in English 1438 GMT 27 May 91

[By TASS correspondents Rostislav Gertsev and Igor Peskov]

[Text] Moscow May 27 TASS—The West is not merely abstractly interested in the success of Soviet reforms. It is prepared to help implement them, former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher told students in Moscow today.

Thatcher was speaking at a meeting with students and teachers of the Moscow Institute of International Relations. She is visiting the country at the invitation of President Mikhail Gorbachev.

The meeting with Margaret Thatcher will serve as an excellent lesson for future Soviet diplomats in rhetoric, eloquence and lucidity when discussing key international and internal policy issues.

The warm welcome shown Thatcher at the school and attention with which students listened to her brilliant speech emphasised her popularity as a political figure and a charming, elegant and very interesting woman.

Commenting on her vision of the situation in the Soviet Union, Thatcher said one should not underestimate the importance of political reforms implemented in the Soviet Union.

She praised immense progress reached in human rights—freedom of speech, conscience, movement and ownership.

Soviet changes provided a boost to democratic reforms in east European countries and helped the solution of various regional conflicts.

This ushered in an era of peace talks, she said.

"I welcome the Soviet Union's return to the international community," Thatcher said.

In order to resolve Soviet economic difficulties, the state should limit its interference in business and grant more rights to private entrepreneurs, she said.

Freedom will tap the initiative of business people and revive the economy. However, freedom should not be regarded as an absolute free-for-all, she said.

It is impossible to be free other than by abiding by laws. By ignoring laws it is impossible to build a just and free society. Freedom requires responsibility, she said.

Thatcher said she had not changed her attitude towards Mikhail Gorbachev and continued to believe that radical reforms in the Soviet Union were possible largely due to his "vision and determination".

Talks With Pavlov

LD2805103191 Moscow TASS in English 0923 GMT 28 May 91

[Text] Moscow May 28 TASS—Soviet Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov met former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in the Kremlin early today. Thatcher is visiting the Soviet Union at the invitation of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Pavlov and Thatcher are expected to discuss bilateral relations, the reform process in the Soviet Union and prospects "for economic cooperation of the USSR with Western countries.

Today Thatcher will also meet members of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for International Affairs and Soviet Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov.

Gorbachev Greeting to Soviet, UK Cosmonauts

PM2105102591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 May 91 Second Edition p 1

[Message from President M.S. Gorbachev: "To the International Soviet-British Crew of the Mir Orbital Scientific Research Complex—Cosmonauts Viktor Afanasyev, Musa Manarov, Anatoliy Artsebarskiy, Sergey Krikalev, and Helen Sharman;" date not given]

[Text] I cordially congratulate you on the start of joint work on board the Mir orbital scientific research complex.

Your flight graphically demonstrates the possibilities of raising friendship and cooperation between our countries to new heights. You have the honor of participating in the first Soviet-British space mission.

I wish you success in fulfilling the joint flight program, and a safe return to earth.

[Signed] USSR President M. Gorbachev

Maltese Foreign Minister Arrives on Working Visit

LD2205101991 Moscow TASS in English 1012 GMT 22 May 91

[Text] Moscow May 22 TASS—Maltese Foreign Minister Guido Demarco, who is president of the 45th session of the United Nations General Assembly, arrived on a working visit in Moscow today.

Meets Vice President

LD2305202891 Moscow TASS in English 1728 GMT 23 May 91

[Text] Moscow May 23 TASS—Soviet Vice-President Gennadiy Yanayev today received visiting Maltese Foreign Minister Guido de Marco, who is also president of the 45th session of the United Nations General Assembly.

They discussed Soviet-Maltese relations, outlook for their development, and a number of regional and global issues.

Yanayev and de Marco supported efforts to democratise the United Nations and increase their role in the nascent new structure of international relations.

When discussing European problems, they noted the importance of making the Mediterranean a zone of openness and cooperation and stressed the need to steadily further the CSCE process, an important landmark in which should be established by the Moscow conference on the human dimension. [sentence as received]

The friendly discussion also involved Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy and the Maltese ambassador to the USSR, Maurice Lubrano.

Meets Bessmertnykh

LD2305221491 Moscow TASS in English 2143 GMT 23 May 91

[Text] Moscow May 23 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh today met visiting President of the 45th session of the U.N. General Assembly Guido de Marco, who is also Maltese deputy prime minister and foreign minister.

In a friendly and open atmosphere, typical of Soviet-Maltese relations, the ministers discussed prospects for the development of the international situation, versatile cooperation in ensuring peace and security and resolving global problems.

The ministers noted with satisfaction the growing role of the United Nations as a centre for coordinating actions by states in settling regional conflicts and ensuring world stability and security in all aspects.

They noted the United Nations's important function in harmonising processes of political, social, economic, humanitarian and ecological cooperation and integration in various regions and disseminating experience in these spheres.

They particularly focused on the situation in Europe in the light of realising the Paris Charter for a new Europe, including from the point of view of Soviet-Maltese interaction. The ministers also noted similarity of opinions concerning prospects for security and cooperation in the Mediterranean.

They noted similarity of approaches to ensuring stable and secure peace in the Middle East, including holding a peace conference with the participation of all interested sides.

The sides confirmed their mutual wish to build Soviet-Maltese relations on the basis of full equality and mutual profit. They discussed improving trade and economic relations and their modification to current realities. The growing quality of relations between the two countries has been reflected in a joint statement signed on the results of talks.

Italian Support of Soviet G-7 Participation Cited

OW2405035191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1800 GMT 23 May 91

[From the "Business Today" feature]

[Text] Rome has a positive view of the participation of the Soviet Union in the June meeting of the Group of Seven [G-7] leading industrialised nations. This question was

discussed during talks held on May 22 between Mikhail Gorbachev and the Italian premier, Giulio Andreotti.

A high ranking representative of the Soviet foreign ministry told IF [INTERFAX] that Soviet participation in the meeting of the Group of Seven nations in London had been given a considerable place at the talks. According to the spokesman the emphasis was on the "fuller integration of the Soviet Union into the international economic structure".

Not one of the leaders of the seven nations is rejecting the possibility of Mr Gorbachev participating at the London meeting, although this question still has to be resolved.

The deputy prime minister, Mr Scherbakov and a member of the Soviet Security Council, Mr Primakov, are to hold talks soon in the USA which, it is reported, will also touch the subject of Soviet participation in the Group of Seven talks.

Political & Social

Gorbachev Chairs Union Treaty Committee Meeting

LD2405214391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 24 May 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today in the village of Novo-Ogarevo, near Moscow, USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev chaired a meeting of the preparatory committee for completing the work on the draft of a new Union treaty.

[Begin recording] [Commentator Sergey Medvedev] Dachas near Moscow, rather than official palaces and its presidiums, have now become a place for concluding meetings of top union and republican leaders. Today's meeting in Novo-Ogarevo promises to be precisely such a meeting.

Those participating in it are presidents and chairmen of the Supreme Soviets of Union republics who signed the Nine plus One agreement. The only republic not represented is Uzbekistan. President Karimov was unable to come to Moscow because of the complex situation in his republic. The first leaders of sovereign republics which were previously known as autonomous are also here. There are 18 of them. The task of the committee is to remove the still existing divergences in their views on the form in which the draft Union treaty would be acceptable to all sides and on the elaboration of its final version. Of course, it is not simple to reach unanimity when the sides hold varying position. So, during a break, we noticed from a close circle which first leaders of autnomous republics formed, that they had found a common language. Obviously, they had no secrets since they have allowed us to join them.

[M.Y. Nikolayev, chairman of the Yakut-Sakha Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) Supreme Soviet] It is necessary to continue the conversation we held with the president and Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin on 12 May. This must be the starting point in today's conversation.

[Yu.A. Spiridonov, chairman of the Komi SSR Supreme Soviet] The second issue is that of a referendum. When we campaigned for holding a referendum, we explained to the people the principle of the treaty. The second fundamental point is, thus, that people should not be confused. The people said what they wanted, and we must enshrine their will in a treaty. This is what we must think over.

[V.N. Stepanov, chairman of the Karelian ASSR Supreme Soviet] Following our brief exchange, our sentiment is such that we must stick up for the principles for which the people have voted.

[A.Kh. Galazov, chairman of the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet] Yes, I want to cite the following concrete example: On 12 May, at the meeting with Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin and Mikhail Sergeyevich, we agreed unequivocally that we would abandon division of the republics into union and autonomous ones. Since all the republics have constitutions and are sovereign states, they must be full agents of the Union federation. Hence, the leader of every single republic must be a full member of the Council of the Federation.

[Medvedev] Does everyone of you hold this view?

[Participants in union] Yes.

[Medvedev] Can one achieve a unanimous point of view and find compromise on this document, the draft Union treaty?

[V.M. Zotin, chairman of the Mari-El SSR Supreme Soviet] We must find compromise, otherwise we will never sign any Union treaty. One must look for compromise. This is why we got together here today, I think.

[Stepanov] I would also like to add that we just must look for compromise since we are trying to fulfill the will of the people and its numerous nationalities who participated in the referendum. Dragging out now the work on the draft Union treaty provokes generally fair questions. In this respect, we are accountable to our peoples.

[Medvedev] This historic building has seen many negotiations, and it continues to be a place where history is being made. [end recording]

Gorbachev Interviewed on Meeting

LD2505185691 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 25 May 91

[Interview with President Mikhail Gorbachev by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Gorbachev] Today the preparatory committee which was set up by resolutions of the fourth USSR Congress of People's Deputies has started its work. Its tasks include the preparation of that version of the treaty, of the new Union treaty, that needs to be submitted to all the Supreme Soviets for discussion, this should already be the sole version. After this, the signing of it should follow. That is to say, the most decisive and the final stage of work on this very important aspect of our processes of transformation has commenced. If we are to talk of our work, you said that we worked here for eight hours, or...I don't know, for more than that, or some consider, for nine hours. We worked with thoroughness. There is a great deal of responsibility and competence in carrying out this work. I would characterize it as constructive work. There has been great progress.

The issues that were at the center of attention today were the ones on which an accord and unified understanding has to be reached and on which how fast the formation of the final variant of the Union treaty proceeds will depend. The title of the Union treaty was discussed. It seems that this is a simple thing, but I must say that this is an issue being discussed by society and by the representatives of all the republics who are members of the committee.

The second issue was the name of the renewed federation of our union state after it is reshaped.

Next came the issues of the division of functions.

The next topic was the structure of the supreme bodies of the renewed Union taking into account the new character of the Union and the sovereignization of the republics, the redistribution of the functions, and a range of other issues. How fast we conclude this work depends on the solution of these issues.

I would like to say that we agreed on many things today. Work will continue on some issues. Generally speaking, the preparatory committee will be working continuously now. This means that this work should lead to the discussion in all the Supreme Soviets of a sole agreed draft of the new Union treaty already in June.

[Correspondent] So, one can say that the light at the end of the tunnel is expanding?

[Gorbachev, laughing] Well, I think that the light appeared especially after the referendum. What is there to hide here?

The main protagonist, our people, have spoken—have they not?—in favor of the preservation of our Union as a federation. A federation, however, renewed on the basis of the processes under way in our multinational state. So, this is a point of departure. This idea was stressed here, that we are in favor of a new federation, a new unified state on federative principles. Therefore, this approach and these principles must run through all the sections. So, let us wish success to the preparatory committee in this, at this most crucial stage of work on the new Union treaty, which—and I am confident in it, and I know it—is expected by all our people, and on which a very great deal depends. But what is already being done now is stimulating centripetal forces in our multinational state. I welcome this. This is an indication of what the Union means to us.

PRAVDA Reviews Meeting

PM2705105191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 May 91 Second Edition pp 1-2

["En Route to the Treaty"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] A session of the preparatory committee, convened in accordance with a decision of the fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies to work on the draft of the new Union Treaty and to define the procedure for its conclusion, was held at Novo-Ogarevo 24 May 1991, with President Mikhail Gorbachev in the chair.

It was stressed at the session that the result of the 17 March referendum was that the peoples of the country came out firmly in favor of preserving and renewing their union state.

A wide, constructive exchange of views took place on observations made by the republics on the draft treaty, published in the press.

The participants unanimously supported the principles of building the Union as a federation of equal republics. There was a comprehensive discussion of the procedure with regard to signing the treaty by representatives of the sovereign states which make up the Union, and of the structure and powers of Union bodies. Particular attention was paid to ensuring the involvement of all republics in the shaping and functioning of union bodies.

It was decided that the preparatory committee will work on a permanent basis, with the intention of submitting an agreed draft treaty for approval by the republic Supreme Soviets in June this year.

Taking part in the session were A.I. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet; R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities; B.N. Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet; L.M. Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet; N.I. Dementey, chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet; N.A. Nazarbayev, president of the Kazakh SSR; A.N. Mutalibov, president of Azerbaijan; A.A. Akayev, president of Kyrgyzstan; K.M. Makhkamov, president of the Tajik SSR; S.A. Niyazov, president of the Turkmen SSR; M.G. Rakhimov, chairman of the Bashkir SSR Supreme Soviet; S.N. Buldayev, chairman of the Buryat SSR Supreme Soviet; M.M. Magomedov, chairman of the Dagestan Supreme Soviet; V.M. Kokov, chairman of the Kabardino-Balkar SSR Supreme Soviet; V.M. Basanov, chairman of the Kalmyk SSR Supreme Soviet; V.N. Stepanov, chairman of the Karelian SSR Supreme Soviet; Yu.A. Spiridonov, chairman of the Komi SSR Supreme Soviet; V.M. Zotin, chairman of the Mari SSR Supreme Soviet; N.V. Biryukov, chairman of the Mordovian SSR Supreme Soviet; A.Kh. Galazov, chairman of the North Ossetian SSR Supreme Soviet; M.Sh. Shaymiyev, chairman of the Tatar SSR Supreme Soviet; Ch.-D.B. Ondar, chairman of the Tuva SSR Supreme Soviet; D.G. Zavgayev, chairman of the Chechen-Ingush Supreme Soviet; A.M. Leontyev, chairman of the Chuvash SSR Supreme Soviet; M.Ye. Nikolayev, chairman of the Yakut-Sakha SSR Supreme Soviet; N.V. Bagrov, chairman of the Crimean ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet; D.N. Shamshetov, chairman of the Karakalpakstan Supreme Soviet; and V.G. Ardzinba, chairman of the Abkhaz SSR Supreme Soviet.

The session lasted over eight hours virtually without a break. It was only at around 2230 that newsmen, who were thirsting for news, managed literally to edge their way for a few minutes into the USSR president's extremely tight schedule. Answering their questions, Mikhail Gorbachev said that the final stage of work on this important area in the transformation of the Union has begun. The discussion was thorough. We are operating very responsibly and competently. I would describe it as constructive work, the USSR president said.

At the center of attention were issues on which it is essential to work out a common understanding, and from which, in the final analysis, will depend the speed with which a definitive version of the Union Treaty can be formulated.

Under discussion was the actual name of the document. It would seem to be a simple matter. However, this issue is being discussed in society as a whole, among representatives of the republics, and committee members. The second subject was the name for the renewed federation, for our Union state on the basis of its reformation, and issues pertaining to limiting areas of competence and pertaining to the structure of the bodies of supreme Union authority, taking into account the character of a renewed union, and the acquisition of sovereignty by the republics and others.

I must say, continued Mikhail Gorbachev, that today we have agreed on many issues, and we will continue our work on other issues. The preparatory committee will now work on a permanent basis. The intention is that this work should result in an agreed new draft Union Treaty being submitted for the approval of the republic Supreme Soviets as early as June.

"Does this mean that there is growing light at the end of the tunnel?" the president was asked by one of the journalists.

"I think that light appeared after the referendum. The main character—the Soviet people—expressed itself at the referendum in favor of the preservation of the Union as a federation, renewed on the basis of the processes taking place in our multi-ethnic state. Here, stressed Mikhail Gorbachev, emphasis is on the idea: We are in favor of a new federation, in favor of a new Union state based on federal principles. This means that this approach and these principles should run through all sections of the treaty.

I would like to wish the preparatory committee success at this very responsible stage of their work on the new Union Treaty, which I know is awaited by all the peoples of the country. What is currently being done in this direction is stimulating the centripetal forces in our society.

Of late the old estate of Novo-Ogarevo near Moscow has become a place of note on the map of political life.

The house is situated approximately half a kilometer away from the old local area of Usovo. On its outskirts stands a modest wooden house—the same age as the mansion. It belongs to the Tikhonovich family.

The worker Oleg Tikhonovich, living next to a place where big-time politics is being played out, by no means considers himself to be just an outside observer. There are probably few such people in our politicized society today, he said. I personally want my son, three-year-old Vasiliy, to grow up to be a free man in a renewed democratic Union. For him to make friends with his contemporaries in all republics and be rightly proud of his motherland.

I consider it my duty as a journalist to bring the opinion of residents in even this village to the attention of the preparatory committee members.

Questions Left Unanswered

OW2805044091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1230 GMT 27 May 91

[Text] On Monday at a session of the country's parliament, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, Mr Anatoliy Lukyanov, said that last Friday's meeting of Union treaty preparatory committee left "a whole range of questions still unanswered".

Representatives of the republican leaders and the Soviet authorities announced, according to Mr Lukyanov, that they were agreed on the question of the federal make-up of the future Union. However, opinions still differed on the question of who was to be subject to the Union treaty.

Mr Lukyanov emphasised again that everybody should feel themselves bound by the results of the referendum of March 17 and said that any part of the treaty at odds with this would have to be approved by a new referendum.

The following session of the preparatory committee is to take place in a week's time, according to Mr Lukyanov. The work of the committee is to [be] carried out on a permanent basis.

June Meeting To Follow

LD2505164691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1351 GMT 25 May 91

[Text] It is planned to hold another meeting [between Gorbachev and the leaders of the republics] early in June and before the end of June to complete work on the text of the Union treaty. An agreement is to be reached regarding the formation of the supreme bodies of power, the mechanism of signing the treaty, property, taxation, and the functions and powers of the Council of the Federation.

What is meant is a meeting between USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev and the leaders of a number of Union and autonomous republics.

As Mikhail Nikolayev, chairman of Yakutia's Supreme Soviet, said in a conversation with a correspondent of the RUSSIAN NEWS AGENCY: In Novo-Ogarevo, Moscow Oblast, a variant for the creation of a two-chamber parliament of a new type was studied.

All the founders of the Union will have identical representation in the upper chamber of the parliament. Elections to the Chamber of Nationalities will be by the population. Such a structure of the Supreme Soviet will satisfy the interests of all republics and the peoples of our country as a whole, Mikhail Nikolayev believes.

In his view, with every passing day more and more points of contact are appearing between USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev and Chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Boris Yeltsin.

Ignatenko: Treaty 'Very Long Process'

LD2405192691 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 24 May 91

[From the Vesti newscast]

[Text] [Announcer S. Sorokina] A meeting took place today between Gorbachev, Yeltsin, and the leaders of the republics. An important document was also signed.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent S.Dorenko] Work on the text of the new union treaty is progressing at an accelerated pace, as was determined in the statement of the ten. Leaders of the nine republics intending to take part in the new union and representatives of the autonomous regions arrived at today's meeting in Novo-Ogarevo, near Moscow. Russia was represented by Boris Yeltsin. Mikhail Gorbachev was in the chair. Officially, the meeting in Novo-Ogarevo is called a sitting of the committee for completing work on the draft new Union treaty. So the completion is evidently near although the three dozen serious men determining our fate did argue a little today. Vitaliy Ignatenko, the leader of Gorbachev's press service, hinted this.

[V.Ignatenko] I think discussion will be very serious. It is a very long process. Everyone wants to speak and set out his position—you see what fundamental ones there are. [Ignatenko flicks through a sheaf of papers]

[Unidentified reporter] So fundamental differences of some kind remain?

[Ignatenko] They are not, well, so fundamental as to prevent the possibility of this work being completed. [end recording]

Gorbachev Addresses Leaseholders' Congress

LD2405130491 Moscow TASS in English 1227 GMT 24 May 91

[Text] Moscow May 24 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev described the country's movement of lease-holders and entrepreneurs as "an important stage on the way towards a civilised market." He addressed participants in a congress of lease-holders and entreprenuers that opened in Moscow today and voiced support for the activity of new business communities.

Gorbachev emphasised that the transition to a fully-fledged market called for a mixed economy, for combining various types and forms of ownership. He said it was important to support entrepreneurs who could give the country the real results of their labour already today—food, clothes, speedy and top-quality construction and social services.

"Industry and agriculture need a proprietor who could use the results of his labour, but he should act strictly abiding by the rules of the game—within the framework of the existing legislative acts," Gorbachev said.

Gorbachev spoke about the legal aspects of the work to regulate entrepreneurs' activity. "Many legislative acts have become outdated and call for re-thinking and additional study. They actually conspire against many important initiatives that entrepreneurs come up with," Gorbachev said.

When the congress ends, proposals made by its participants will be handed over to the Soviet president and the Cabinet of Ministers.

Gorbachev said the Soviet Union, its entrepreneurs and lease-holders participated in international cooperation, but the country was yet to prepare itself for fully-fledged cooperation. He said businessmen ought to look for optimum forms of contacts with foreign partners, work to achieve the convertibility of the rouble and gradually enter the world market.

People's Fronts Forum Demands Troop Withdrawal

LD2705161791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1500 GMT 27 May 91

[Text] The Kishinev forum of the assembly of people's fronts and movements of the republics which are not party to the Union treaty has been set up at a meeting of authorized representatives of these organizations, held in Kishinev. Representatives of the Armenian Pan-national Movement, the People's Front of Estonia, the People's Front of Latvia, the Lithuanian Sajudis movment, the Georgian Roundtable and the People's Front of Moldova took part: Just see what a heterogeneous assortment this is! The Kishinev forum adopted a declaration containing a demand to the USSR—open quotes—immediately to cease all pressure from without, and to remove the occupational structures from the territories of the republics—end quotes. What is meant here are, of course, troops, the KGB, the CPSU, and so on. This is a TASS correspondent's report.

Demands Measures Against Ethnic Conflict

LD2705170191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1600 GMT 27 May 91

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The meeting also adopted an appeal to the USSR president and to the UN secretary general containing demands that measures be taken against the stirring up of interethnic conflicts between Georgians and Ossetians, Armenians and Azerbaijanis by Union authorities and the Army.

KGB Collegium Discusses Priority Measures

LD2405222391 Moscow TASS in English 2151 GMT 24 May 91

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—The USSR KGB public relations centre reports that the KGB Collegium met today to discuss priority measures to be taken following the adoption by the Soviet parliament of the Law of the USSR on Bodies of State Security in the USSR.

The collegium was told that the country's legislature for the first time passed an open regulatory enactment concerning bodies of state security, which can be regarded as another step in the emergence of the rule-of-law socialist state.

It was stressed that the adoption of the new law makes it necessary for the USSR Committee for State Security (KGB) to review its activity and bring it into line with new legal standards and on this basis to substantially raise the efficiency and dependability of ensuring the country's state security.

In accordance with the resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the enactment of the new law, departmental regulations should be reviewed in order to ensure proper application of the law in practice.

Much will have to be done to further develop openness and strengthen public relations of state security agencies with a view to making the law better understood and approved by the broad masses of people.

Work will have to be restructured along all lines. In this connection, a set of organizational and legal measures will have to be taken to make sure that provisions of the law are habitually taken as guidance for the day-by-day activity of state security agencies.

It will be necessary to resolutely discard many routine approaches and solutions that have taken shape over decades but are no longer consistent with the spirit and letter of the new law.

The leaders of a number of republican committees, territorial and regional state security agencies took part in the collegium's work.

The collegium issued relevant instructions.

The collegium was addressed by Chairman of the parliamentary Defence and Security Committee I. Sharin and Chairman of the Presidential Committee for the Coordination of Activities of Law Enforcement Agencies Yu. Golic.

Shevardnadze on UN Forces, USSR Presidency

LD2505092591 Berlin ADN in German 0055 GMT 25 May 91

[Text] Hamburg (ADN)—Former Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze has called for the intervention of UN peace keeping forces should the conflicts among the nationalities in the Soviet Union escalate into civil war. In an interview with the news magazine DER SPIEGEL he said the United Nations should not stay away "in such situations".

Even now the United Nations should be involved in attempts to calm the dangerous situation. "I think the United Nations should be involved in the dialogue between our central government and the republics", he said.

Shevardnadze, who is on a lecture tour in the United States, also warned the West against making aid for the Soviet Union subject to conditions. "Ultimatums from the West only help those who want to pull the country back to the old way." The West cannot develop the formula for a way out of the present situation, because the Soviet citizens have to "work for the salvation of the country themselves".

Shevardnadze said he does not believe in the success of the presidential decrees Gorbachev is using to try to halt the economic crisis. "In times like this bans are not very effective", he asserted.

In the DER SPIEGEL interview, the former foreign minister, who is said to have ambitions for the position of UN secretary general, did not rule out the possibility that he might stand against his former friend Gorbachev in future elections for the Soviet Presidency.

DER SPIEGEL Interviews Shevardnadze

AU2705122791 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 27 May 91 pp 161-169

[Interview with former Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze by Siegesmund von Ilsemann and Romain Leick in Los Angeles; date not given: "This Is My Tragedy"]

[Text] [DER SPIEGEL] Eduard Amvrosiyevich, the Soviet Union is facing economic collapse. The nationality conflicts may escalate to a devastating civil war. The conflicts between reformers and reactionaries are escalating dramatically. Do you regret sometimes that you are no longer struggling for perestroyka in a central position?

[Shevardnadze] I do not feel regret because I think that my resignation as foreign minister was a correct step. I support perestroyka. Its ideals reflect my convictions and views; I will continue to support it. And I can actively participate in this struggle for the future path without being minister.

[DER SPIEGEL] You justified your sudden resignation on 20 December 1990 as a "protest against the imminent dictatorship." Is this danger still acute?

[Shevardnadze] Yes, the danger of dictatorship, the threat of totalitarianism still exists. However, there are also some signs that give reason for hope, in particular in the democratic movement. I see that there are now more efforts for unity, for focusing the efforts. The forces of reform have become more militant.

[DER SPIEGEL] Who is the source of the danger of a dictatorship—it is not Gorbachev, is it?

[Shevardnadze] It is very difficult to tell now. If we are not able to come to to terms with the social-political, and national problems, which are shaking the Soviet state, we will end up in chaos. And the state of chaos is the most dangerous one, as Gorbachev has realized correctly. It establishes the preconditions from which the worst dictatorship may emerge.

[DER SPIEGEL] Who should prevent chaos? Could the military be tempted to enforce itself as a force of order? Or the old party apparatus?

[Shevardnadze] No one knows. A man who is completely unknown today might suddenly turn up—perhaps a captain or even a private, as the Germans in particular should know. Or also a civilian, from the left or from the right; at the moment there is simply no one who can predict that.

[DER SPIEGEL] Such a dictator is not in sight at the moment.

[Shevardnadze] Well, I know one or the other candidate for the post.

[DER SPIEGEL] Whom?

[Shevardnadze] (laughs) You are trying to provoke me....

[DER SPIEGEL] If the danger does not emanate from Gorbachev, was your resignation then not some sort of desertion? Would you not have had far more possibilities to prevent a threatening dictatorship as a minister and Politburo member?

[Shevardnadze] The form which I chose for my resignation as foreign minister and the picture of truth which I drew up in my justification were correct at that time. They gave rise to a certain reaction in our country.

[DER SPIEGEL] When you bade farewell to the Foreign Ministry, Gorbachev told you: "I will never forgive you." Did the abrupt resignation ruin your relationship with the president?

[Shevardnadze] When Gorbachev said that he would never forgive me, his displeasure was justified, because my decision was really very abrupt and I had not talked with him about it before. But today our relationship is quite balanced.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you have an opportunity to talk to Gorbachev regularly?

[Shevardnadze] I meet with him, even though not regularly.

[DER SPIEGEL] Would you still consider yourself to be his adviser?

[Shevardnadze] I am heading the Foreign Policy Association now. I am willing to advise him, if he wants such a consultation.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you believe that Gorbachev made too many compromises? Did he help you too little?

[Shevardnadze] I will answer in an evasive manner: When the attacks on the new way of thinking started, hardly anybody protected foreign policy.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you fear that all your foreign policy work will now shatter under the attacks of the critics?

[Shevardnadze] No, the attacks of the critics alone cannot bring this about. But if a dictator comes, how should one then continue to speak of a new way of thinking?

[DER SPIEGEL] Do the quarrels about conventional disarmament and the stagnation of the START negotiations not prove that the followers of the old way of thinking are gaining ground again?

[Shevardnadze] To a certain extent the difficulties in these negotiations are indeed caused by these forces of resistance in our society. However, the START treaty will be signed, and the treaty on conventional disarmament will be ratified. The difficulties that have emerged will be eliminated.

[DER SPIEGEL] But the Soviet military does not seem to be too enthusiastic about that.

[Shevardnadze] There are different opinions within the military. In our Armed Forces there are many sensible people, who understand that a real reduction of armament costs is in the national interest of the Soviet Union, the European states, and the entire world, as long as disarmament takes place on a one-to-one basis. I even go as far as saying that the majority of the military shares this view.

[DER SPIEGEL] After all, at your resignation you also accused a group of colonels of torpedoing your policy. Where were your most powerful opponents—in the military, in the government, or in the Politburo?

[Shevardnadze] In all structures.

[DER SPIEGEL] Was your foreign policy also hindered by statements of KGB chief Kryuchkov that western intelligence services are promoting the collapse of the USSR.

[Shevardnadze] I do not know what Kryuchkov said there. But western intelligence services have nothing to do with that. Perhaps some are really hoping that we will collapse, perhaps they are working on it on some level—okay, let them do it. Our foreign policy depends on the Soviet citizens, not on western intelligence services.

There were also other, similar statements: that the banks of some country are planning to throw the Soviet Union into an economic disaster by smuggling masses of rubles into the country. Putting up such theories of conspiracy is explosive and naive at the same time.

[DER SPIEGEL] Nevertheless, many critics saw you as some sort of traitor to your country. The policy of cooperation with the West, the release of the east European states from the socialist bloc, and the unification of Germany—it was said—had deprived the Soviet Union of its role as a big power.

[Shevardnadze] Yes, even today I am still accused of that. The attacks have even become stronger in a certain direction. But they are wrong and nonsensical.

[DER SPIEGEL] Are you not also pained by the Soviet Union's loss in status?

[Shevardnadze] No one can make the Soviet Union a world power from the outside. This can be done only by the people in the Soviet Union. Whether or not we are a world power does not depend on Germany, not even on the united Germany. It also does not depend on the United States or on the united Europe, but on us alone. If our economy is strong, if our national problems have been solved, if democratization takes place, the Soviet Union will remain a world power.

[DER SPIEGEL] The only alternative to the dissolution of the socialist bloc would probably have been use of violence. In 1989 you were encouraged "quite actively" to use the 360,000 Soviet soldiers in the GDR against German reunification. Who urged you to do so?

[Shevardnadze] Just read what the Soviet press wrote about that. Even now there are still such statements and articles. What does it mean when the architects of this policy are accused that they released eastern Europe and also Germany, that they dissolved the socialist bloc?

[DER SPIEGEL] This doubtlessly implies regret that this development was not prevented by force. You have pointed out to your opponents that an intervention would have taken the Soviet Union to the brink of World War III.

[Shevardnadze] This danger existed. If the Soviet troops had used violence, for instance, at the demonstrations in 1989 in the GDR, the West would necessarily have reacted. What would have been the result of a confrontation in the center of Europe, in a region with such a high concentration of troops?

[DER SPIEGEL] Were you able to understand the emotional resistance, the fear of the Russian people of German reunification?

[Shevardnadze] Certainly. This fear existed not only among the Russians. Let us be honest: Were the reactions in the other European countries always unambiguous? It was natural that emotions rose high in the Soviet Union. Some people, even quite a lot, reacted very irritably.

[DER SPIEGEL] As thanks for reunification, the Soviet Union is expecting German help in saving its national economy. How can the complete economic collapse still be stopped?

[Shevardnadze] Support and help from abroad are very important factors, of course. However, in order to save ourselves from a disaster and to bring us out of the crisis the Soviet people themselves have to act, first and foremost. No help from outside can be effective if the citizens do not work themselves for the rescue of the country.

[DER SPIEGEL] Thus, loans and subsidies are not the right way to solve the problems?

[Shevardnadze] No. Serious, comprehensive help is doubtlessly very important. In particular what the FRG Government has done so far is very important for us. But it is not decisive.

[DER SPIEGEL] The United States is far less generous than the Germans because it believes that the massive donations of foreign currency are wasted as long as the Soviet Union does not decide to radically change it structure.

[Shevardnadze] I met with President Bush and I did not get the impression that this is the opinion of the administration or of the American people.

[DER SPIEGEL] Bush hesitates to invite Gorbachev to the summit of the leading industrial states. And Gorbachev sends high-ranking petitioners to Washington to get the U.S. President's support in acquiring western aid amounting to $100 billion. Is this realistic at all?

[Shevardnadze] There were certain reasons why the United States hesitated and kept the trade restrictions in force. These obstacles have now been eliminated for the most part; for instance, the travel law has been passed in the Soviet Union. I do not doubt that this development will continue on a larger scale.

[DER SPIEGEL] Would it not be useful if the west were to establish a connection between its financial help and Soviet reform programs?

[Shevardnadze] No, the West should not act in this way. If the western industrial states really want to support a democratic development in the Soviet Union, they must achieve sensible cooperation. I think that dictates are wrong. Ultimatums posed by the West only help the conservatives in our country and those who want to drag the country back to the old tracks.

[DER SPIEGEL] So far, however, no convincing reform program has come into effect on which the Soviet citizens could decide.

[Shevardnadze] Nevertheless, the West can not develop a program for us. First or all, the most elementary needs of the people must be met: food and the basic goods of everyday life. Social tensions must not grow any further; otherwise the development will become unpredictable.

[DER SPIEGEL] At the moment, however, they seem to be constantly on the rise: strikes, demonstrations, protests....

[Shevardnadze] Yes. But a strike ban will hardly be effective. In times like these bans are not very effective.

[DER SPIEGEL] Why has the Soviet leadership, which has brought about such a fundamental change of course in foreign policy, not made more progress in domestic policy?

[Shevardnadze] I do not quite agree with you. Of course, there are differences in the speed of reforms. Nevertheless, we have already brought about important changes: personal freedom, freedom of speech, freedom of press, glasnost, a parliamentary system, and many other things. The economy is also in the process of being restructured, even though slowly. We are lagging a bit behind in this respect. In other areas, on the other hand, we are too much in a hurry.

[DER SPIEGEL] This hardly applies to another big problem of the Soviet Union, namely the settlement of the nationality conflicts. Can you deprive the republics, which want to secede from the Soviet Union, of the right to national self-determination, which you have granted to the east European countries?

[Shevardnadze] The right to self-determination is set down in the Constitution. I think that any form of using force against it is impermissible—force does not lead to a sensible result.

[DER SPIEGEL] But in Georgia, in the Baltic states, and in Armenia force has already been used. Do you think that a secession of union republics is possible at all without a civil war?

[Shevardnadze] If a nation exercises its right to self-determination, this should be done in an orderly, quiet way. It is a constitutional procedure. If this process of secession threatens to lead to civil war in individual republics—and this danger does exist—one must think very thoroughly about this matter in these republics.

[DER SPIEGEL] Can you imagine the Soviet Union without your home republic of Georgia?

[Shevardnadze] Georgia has declared its independence; this is its right. What that means in practice is the subject of negotiations between Moscow and the republic.

[DER SPIEGEL] In Iraq the United Nations is currently trying to settle a domestic conflict between Kurds and Arabs. Would such a UN peacekeeping mission also be conceivable in the Soviet Union.

[Shevardnadze] I think the United Nations should be involved in the dialogue between our central government and the republics. If the involvement of the United Nations is of advantage, one should not do without it.

[DER SPIEGEL] Is there not the danger that domestic Soviet conflicts are becoming so explosive that the use of UN peacekeeping forces might seem useful?

[Shevardnadze] This would have to be considered very carefully. The intervention of UN troops in a national conflict is a very complicated issue. However, in the future domestic crises can be a hotbed for regional or even worldwide tensions. In such situations the United Nations should not stand aside.

[DER SPIEGEL] Mr. Shevardnadze, you wrote that your resignation was not the end. Do you plan a political comeback?

[Shevardnadze] I have always been a politician.

[DER SPIEGEL] But without an office at the moment.

[Shevardnadze] Why without an office? I am president of the Soviet Foreign Policy Association. This sounds very good, does it not?

[DER SPIEGEL] President of the Soviet Union sounds even better. Could you imagine running for this office? Against Gorbachev?

[Shevardnadze] I have not thought about that yet. As I said: I already have the title of president.

[DER SPIEGEL] Would you be tempted to take over a high international office, for instance that of UN secretary general?

[Shevardnadze] Perez de Cuellar is a unique person. He is very flexible, very communicative. We should try to win him for a third term of office.

[DER SPIEGEL] Flexible and communicative—this description also applies to you.

[Shevardnadze] I cannot say something like this about myself.

[DER SPIEGEL] In which political direction do you feel most at home with your desire for a combination of politics and ethics—that of Yeltsin or Gorbachev?

[Shevardnadze] You must not ask that in this way. Let me better formulate it as follows: The two should cooperate. They should find a common language and make compromises. Our country needs that. However, of course, I have my own position, my own opinion.

[DER SPIEGEL] Which of the candidates in the presidential elections for the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic on 12 June comes so close to your personal attitude that you support him—Yeltsin or former Prime Minister Ryzhkov?

[Shevardnadze] You want me to tell you a secret? This is not correct; after all, we have secret elections. You need not know whom I will vote for.

[DER SPIEGEL] Your father was a dissident, who was wanted on an arrest warrant in 1937. Your uncles were social democrats. Your father-in-law was shot as an enemy of the regime. Were you yourself really a communist, and are you still one?

[Shevardnadze] I have always considered myself to be a communist. This is my tragedy. First there was the Stalin period, then came Khrushchev, then the development proceeded step by step until, finally, someone like me came to a political position of power.

[DER SPIEGEL] Thus, today you are no longer a communist?

[Shevardnadze] Why not? Of course, I am a member of the party. I just have different views and attitudes today. I have changed as our country has changed, too.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you believe that the communist system can really be democratized completely without liquidating itself in the process?

[Shevardnadze] What is happening in our country? This is a process of democratization. And who started it? Not you. You did not force this on us. We did it ourselves. We started this.

The fact that there is a controversy about that within the party, that opinions are clashing violently, is a different matter. Much depends on the outcome of this conflict, including the fate of many communists. If the conservatives gain the upper hand, the democrats will leave the party.

[DER SPIEGEL] Eduard Amvrosiyevich, thank you for this interview.

Law on State Security Bodies

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[Text]

Section One: General Provisions

Article 1. The purpose of the state security bodies

The state security bodies ensure within the limits of their competence the state security of the USSR and of the republics. To this end they combat the intelligence-gathering and subversive activity of the special services of foreign states and foreign organizations directed against the USSR and the republics, protect the constitutional structure of the USSR and the republics against illegal infringements, and protect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the state and its economic, scientific-technical, and defense potential.

Article 2. The main directions of the state security bodies' activities

The main directions of the activities of state security bodies are:

1) Intelligence work aimed at ensuring the state security of USSR and the republics;

2) Counterintelligence work in defending the USSR and the republics from the intelligence-gathering and subversive activities of the special services of foreign states and foreign organizations;

3) Providing the highest bodies of state power and administration of the USSR and the republics and other state bodies with the information necessary for dealing with the tasks connected with state security, socio-economic and defense construction, scientific-technical progress, and foreign political and economic activities;

4) Preventing, uncovering, and putting a stop to crimes the investigation of which is placed by the law within the competence of the state security bodies; the struggle against terrorism; and organized crime which affect the interests of state security;

5) Ensuring the USSR state secrets are preserved, and organizing and ensuring the security of special types of communications and coding work;

6) Guarding the state border and the economic zone of the USSR; participating in drawing up and implementing measures to protect the USSR's continental shelf;

7) Insuring the country's administrative centers' and the USSR Armed Forces' readiness to function in wartime. ;

8) Providing methodological and organizational-technical aid to ministries, state committees, departments, enterprises, institutions, and organizations in insuring state security and also, within the limits of their competence, coordinating their actions in the above-mentioned spheres and monitoring this activity.

Article 3. The basic principles of the activity of the state security bodies

The activity of the state security bodies is constructed on the basis of the principles of legality, the equality of everyone before the law, and respect for the individual, his rights and liberties, humanism, and internationalism.

Article 4. Guarantees of the observance of the rights and liberties of citizens

The state security bodies carry out their activity with strict observance of the rights and liberties of citizens. The enjoyment by citizens of their rights and liberties can be restircted in the interests of insuring state security only in cases provided for by the laws of the USSR and the republics.

The state security bodies are obliged to give explanations at the request of a citizen as to the reasons for them restricting his rights and liberties. At the citizen's request such an explanation is given in writing.

The state security bodies provide protection against public disclosure of information concerning a citizen's confidential assistance to the security bodies.

The actions of the state security bodies and their employees can be appealed to higher state security bodies and to the courts, in accordance with the law on the procedures for court appeals against unlawful actions of organs of state management and officials encroaching upon the rights of citizens.

In case of employees of the state security bodies encroaching upon the rights and liberties of citizens while performing their official duties, the relevant state security body is obliged to take measures to restore these rights and liberties, compensate for the damage inflicted, and call the guilty parties to account.

Article 5. Glasnost and the activities of the state security bodies

The state security bodies are to provide information to state bodies, working collectives, public associations, and media on the questions of insuring state security.

Information containing, in accordance with legislation, state, official, and commercial secrets, is not subject to disclosure. Information concerning the private life, honor, and dignity of the citizens which has become known to the state security bodies in the process of their activities, is also not subject to disclosure, except in legal cases.

Article 6. The participation of state bodies, public associations, labor collectives, and citizens in ensuring state security

The state security bodies fulfill the obligations laid upon them for cooperation with state bodies, public associations, and labor collectives.

State bodies and their officials are obliged to provide assistance to the state security bodies in insuring state security.

Citizens of the USSR assist in insuring state security.

Article 7. The legal basis of the activity of state security bodies

The legal basis of the activity of the state security bodies comprises the USSR constitution, the republics' constitutions, the present law and other legislative acts of the USSR and the republics, acts of the USSR president, decisions and instructions from the USSR Cabinet of Ministers, the republican governments, and also acts issued by the USSR State Security Committee and the republican state security bodies in accordance with them.

Section Two: State Security Bodies In The USSR

Article 8. The system of state security bodies in the USSR

The USSR State Security Committee, the republics' state security bodies, and the bodies subordinate to them form a single system of the country's state security bodies.

Article 9. The USSR State Security Committee

The USSR State Security Committee—a union-republican central body of state administration of the USSR—within the limits of its competence excercises leadership in the sphere of state security, directly carries out work in the basic areas of the activity of the state security bodies, and bears responsibility for insuring the state security of the USSR.

The USSR State Security Committee directs, coordinates and monitors the activity of the state security bodies of the republics in resolving questions under the jurisdiction of of the USSR State Security Committee and under their joint jurisdiction. It issues orders and instructions and issues directives on these questions, the implementation of which is obligatory in the system of state security bodies.

Directly subordinate to the USSR State Security Committee are: the border troops, government communication troops, engineering-construction and special units of troops (troops of the USSR State Security Committee) which are set up and used in accordance with the legislation of the USSR and the present law; state security bodies set up by it to provide counterintelligence services for the USSR Armed Forces, internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and other troop formations envisaged by legislation of the USSR (bodies of military counterintelligence).

The USSR State Security Committee is headed by a chairman who is appointed to the post and released from the post by the USSR president, taking account of the opinion of the Federation Council and in agreement with the USSR Supreme Soviet. The first deputy chairmen and the deputy chairmen of the USSR State Security Committee are appointed to the posts and released from the posts by the USSR Cabinet of Ministers on the representation of the chairman of the USSR State Security Committee.

The chairman of the USSR State Security Committee is personally responsible for carrying out of the duties laid on the USSR State Security Committee.

A collegium is created in the USSR State Security Committee. The collegium will be made up of the leaders of the republican bodies of state security by virtue of their positions.

Article 10. Republican bodies of state security.

Republican bodies of state security—union republican bodies of state administration—exercise leadership in the sphere of state security on the territory of their own republic and directly carry out work in the main areas of activity of the bodies of state security; and within the limits of their competence they bear responsibility for ensuring the state security of the republic and the USSR.

Organs of state security in the republics within the bounds of their competence direct, coordinate, and supervise the activity of kray, oblast, okrug, municipal, and rayon organs of state security under their jurisdiction.

The republican bodies of state security are headed by officials appointed to their position and released from their position by the highest bodies of state power and administration of their republic in agreement with the USSR State Security Committee. Deputy heads of the republican bodies of state security are appointed to their positions and released from their positions by the governments of their republic in agreement with the USSR State Security Committee.

Article 11. Cadres of Organs of State Security. Cadres of state security organs comprise servicemen, workers, and employees (personnel of state security organs). The number of servicemen in the bodies of state security is determined by the USSR president.

Persons doing their military service in the bodies of state security are USSR State Security Committee servicemen.

USSR citizens capable of carrying out the duties laid on the bodies of state security by virtue of their personal, moral, and practical qualities, education and state of

health, are taken into service in the bodies of state security on a voluntary basis.

USSR citizens are called up to active military service in the USSR State Security Committee troops in accordance with the law on universal military service obligation.

Servicemen of the bodies of state security undergo military service in accordance with the provision on undergoing military service by the appropriate categories of servicemen of the USSR Armed Forces, military regulations, and other acts of USSR legislaton. They enjoy the rights and privileges provided for servicemen in the USSR Armed Forces, if nothing different is provided for by legislation.

In order to solve questions of insuring state security in ministries, state committees, departments, state enterprises, institutions, organizations, and also in other organizations and bodies of public associations, servicemen of the bodies of state security may be attached to them with their agreement by a procedure determined by the USSR Cabinet of Ministers, while the servicemen remain on active military service in order to fill posts on the staff of the bodies and organizations indicated.

Servicemen from the state security bodies and the troops of the USSR State Security Committee who are released from active military service in these bodies and troops into the reserve, are, in accordance with USSR legislation, to enter into the reserve of the USSR State Security Committee or the reserve of the USSR Armed Forces.

The labor activity of blue and white collar workers of the state security bodies is to be regulated by the labor legislation of the USSR and of the republics.

In their official activities, those working for the state security bodies are to be governed by the demands of laws and are not bound by the resolutions of political parties and mass public movements which are pursuing political ends.

Article 12. The financing and material-technical provision of the state security bodies.

The financing of the state security bodies in the USSR is to be met by funds from the union budget.

The material-technical provision for the USSR State Security Committee, including the military counterespionage bodies and troops subordinate to it, is to come from centralized resources.

The material-technical provision for the republics' state security bodies is to be carried out in the manner laid down by the USSR and the republics.

The property of the state security bodies (including buildings, installations, enterprises and equipment) which was created or acquired at the expense of budgetary or other USSR funds comes under all-union ownership.

Disputes connected with defending property rights and economic disputes which arise while concluding, altering, cancelling and implementing contracts for creating and delivering products for state needs and for the construction of special installations, when one of the sides is a directorate of the central apparatus of the USSR State Security Committee, are resolved by the supreme arbitration court of the USSR.

Section Three: The Competence Of The State Security Bodies

Article 13. The duties of the state security bodies and their delimitation between the USSR State Security Committee and the republic's state security bodies.

I. The USSR State Security Committee:

1) Insures the coordination of the actions of the state security bodies in fulfilling the duties laid upon them, studies the results and elaborates the regulations for organizing their work in the basic areas of activity;

2) Defines the fundamental principles and organizes the intelligence activities of the state security bodies; directly carries out intelligence activities;

3) Defines the fundamental principles and organizes the counterintelligence activities of the state security bodies; directly carries out counterintelligence activities;

4) Defines the general principles of the activities of the republic's state security bodies in the sphere of protecting USSR state secrets; in accordance with USSR legislation, provides assistance to enterprises, institutions and organizations under union subordination in protecting commercial secrets;

5) Defines the basic areas of activity of the state security bodies in the struggle against terrorism and organized crime affecting the interests of state security; coordinates the activity of state security bodies in this sphere; directly wages the struggle against terrorism and organized crime;

6) Draws up and implements measures to ensure state security in the USSR Armed Forces, in the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, in the internal troops which are subordinated to that ministry, and in other military formations envisaged by USSR legislation;

7) Carries out inquiries and preliminary investigations into crimes the investigation of which the law allocates to the jurisdiction of the state security bodies; carries out the search for persons who have committed or who are suspected of having committed such crimes; keeps records of persons who have committed them;

8) Organizes and insures the operation and security of special types of communications (governmental, coded, secret), coding, and decoding work;

9) Organizes and manages the protection of the state borders on land, sea, rivers, lakes and other water areas, and the economic zone of the USSR; cooperates in

protecting the continental shelf of the USSR in accordance with the legislation of the USSR.

10) In accordance with the decisions of the supreme bodies of state power and government of the USSR, provides protection for the top officials of the USSR, foreign statesmen, and public figures during their stay in the USSR and also, jointly with internal affairs bodies, provides protection for diplomatic missions, consular and other institutions of foreign states accredited to bodies of state power and the government of the USSR;

11) Carries out measures to insure the security of diplomatic missions, consular and other institutions of the USSR in foreign countries, and citizens of the USSR abroad;

12) Insures the training of specialists in the sphere of intelligence, counterintelligence, border service, and other forms of operational service activity of the state security bodies;

13) Takes part in drawing up measures to conduct a unified scientific-technical policy in the sphere of insuring state security; develops and manufactures special equipment in the interests of the state security bodies;

14) Makes use of troops subordinate to it in order to resolve tasks connected with insuring state security on the basis of and in the ways defined by USSR legislation. In these cases servicemen of these troops enjoy the rights of servicemen of state security bodies granted to them by points 6 through 9 of article 14 and by article 15 of the present law;

15) Establishes contacts and cooperation with the special services of foreign states in the interests of insuring the state security of the USSR and the republics;

16) Within the limits set by the present law and by other legislative acts of the USSR, issues acts on questions of insuring state security and monitors their implementation; and it is obligatory for ministries, state committees, departments, enterprises, institutions, organizations, and public associations' bodies to fulfill these acts;

17) In response to requests from state bodies and public associations' bodies, gives information on the extent to which particular persons have access to facts that are state secrets, in connection with their departure abroad and application to give up USSR citizenship;

18) Draws up and gives effect to measures to insure the readiness for wartime functioning of centers for directing the country and the USSR Armed Forces; organizes and insures the mobilisation training of the state security bodies.

II. The USSR State Security Committee and the state security bodies of the republics, in respect of matters under their joint jurisdiction:

1) Insure the defense of the constitutional system of the USSR and the republics against unlawful infringements;

2) Regularly inform the organs of state power and administration of the USSR and the republics about matters affecting the interests of state security; carry out information analysis work in order to provide the supreme organs of state power and administration of the USSR and the republics, as well as other state bodies, with the information they need to tackle tasks connected with state security, socio-economic and defense construction, and scientific-technical progress, and foreign policy and external economic activities; and conduct research and forecasting of social processes and problems affecting the interests of state security;

3) Take part in drawing up and implementing measures to protect USSR state secrets at Union subordinated installations;

4) Effect the running and insure the security of special forms of communication (governmental, cipher, secret);

5) Take part, in conjunction with other state bodies, in insuring the procedure established by USSR legislation for the entry to the USSR, exit from the USSR, and stay on the territory of the USSR of foreign citizens and stateless persons;

6) Elaborate and implement measures to insure state security at installations of the defense industry, nuclear power industry, transport and communications, at other installations of Union subordination, and within internal affairs bodies;

7) Participate in interaction with other state bodies in the elaboration and implementation of measures to insure the security of special and mass military transportation and of special communications lines;

8) Implement measures to insure state security during the holding of all-Union mass state and socio-political events;

9) By decision of the highest bodies of state power and government of the USSR and the republics, jointly participate with internal affairs bodies in the defense of citizens, the protection of vital public installations and important national economic and military installations, the protection of and maintenance of security at the buildings of the bodies of state power and government and other administrative buildings, the restoration of legality, law and order, and the halting of mass disturbances and interethnic conflicts;

10) Participate in undertakings to normalize the situation in conditions of a state of emergency within the limits defined by the legislation of the USSR and the republics;

11) Participate in implementation of measures to prevent major accidents, catastrophes, and other emergency occurrences at installations of the nuclear power industry, oil, gas and product pipelines, transport, installations of the defense sectors of industry, and other important national economic installations, and in the elimination of the consequences of natural disasters, epidemics, epizootics, ecological catastrophes and other emergency situations;

12) Participate in the development of statewide measures to insure the country's security and in dealing with matters concerning the guarding of state secrets of the USSR, entry to the USSR and exit from the USSR, border arrangements, customs rules, and the procedure for the acquisition and keeping of weapons and ammunition;

13) Evolve and implement plans for developing the material and technical base of the state security bodies;

14) Develop and implement measures regarding the work with cadres of the state security bodies; implement measures to insure their own security.

III. The bodies of state security of the republics:

1) Are engaged in intelligence and counterintelligence activity in the interests of the republics and the USSR; combat terrorism and organized crime affecting the interests of state security;

2) Carry out inquiries and preliminary investigations into cases of crimes whose investigation is ascribed by the law to the jurisdiction of the state security bodies; carry out a search for persons who have committed or who are suspected of committing such crimes; keep a record of persons who have committed them;

3) Insure state security at national economic and other establishments of the republics;

4) Carry out measures to ensure state security during the holding of republican mass state and socio-political events;

5) Take part in drawing up and implementing measures to protect state secrets at the republics' national economic and other installations; and, in accordance with the legislation of the USSR and the republics, provide assistance to enterprises, institutions and organizations of the relevant republic for safeguarding commercial secrets;

6) Carry out, in accordance with the decisions of the republics' supreme organs of state power and administration, the protection of their highest state officials and foreign statesmen and public figures during their stay in the republics, and also, in conjunction with internal affairs bodies, of foreign states' consular and other institutions accredited to the republics' organs of state power and administration;

7) Provide assistance to the border troops of the USSR State Security Committee in defending the state border and the economic zone of the USSR;

8) At the request of state bodies and public association bodies, supply information on the familiarity of persons with data that constitute state secrets in connection with their travelling abroad or application to relinquish USSR citizenship;

9) Take part in insuring wartime mobilization measures of the state security bodies.

Other duties connected with ensuring state security that do not run counter to the present law may be assigned by the republics' supreme organs of state power and administration to the state security bodies of the relevant republics.

Article 14. The rights of the state security bodies.

In order to carry out the duties laid upon them, the state security bodies:

1) Carry out in the established manner both overt and secret operational investigation measures including measures using technical means in order to prevent, discover, halt, and solve crimes the investigation of which the law places within the jurisdiction of the state security bodies; make use of the information they obtain in the cases and manner envisaged by the law;

2) With the consent of citizens, make use of help from them both overtly and secretly in order to carry out the duties laid on the state security bodies, including bringing in citizens on a voluntary basis as casual workers for the state security bodies;

3) With the exclusive aim of halting intelligence gathering and subversive activity by the special services of foreign states and foreign organizations against the USSR and the republics and illegal infringements against the constitutional structure of the USSR and the republics, carry out—with the procurator being subsequently informed—monitoring of mail and listening in to conversations of individuals which use telephones and other voice communication apparatus, and also take information from technical communications channels used by these persons, provided that there is sufficient evidence indicating that crimes have been carried out or are being prepared, the investigation of which the law places within the jurisdiction of the state security bodies, if there is reason to suppose that as a result of these measures information will be obtained which could become evidence in a criminal case;

4) Interact with the internal affairs bodies; carry out operational investigative measures to prevent, cut short, and solve crimes;

5) In agreement with the internal affairs bodies, draw on the forces and resources of these bodies and carry out measures to ensure state security;

6) Given justified suspicion of crimes being committed or given the fact of crimes being committed, whose investigation is ascribed by the law to the jurisdiction of the state security bodies, check citizens' documents certifying their identity, as well as other documents necessary to check the observance of regulations, the monitoring of whose fulfilment is invested in the USSR state security bodies;

7) Use without hindrance means of communication belonging to enterprises, establishments, organizations and public associations, and, in urgent cases, citizens, in the course of duty;

8) Use means of transport belonging to enterprises, establishments, organizations and public associations, or

citizens except for means of transport of diplomatic missions, consular and other establishments of foreign states and international organizations, in cases brooking no delay, to prevent crimes, pursue and detain persons who have committed or are suspected of having committed crimes, to deliver citizens requiring urgent medical aid to medical establishments, as well as to travel to the place of an incident or a natural disaster. At the demand of the owners of the means of transport, the state security bodies are to reimburse them according to the procedure established by the law for any damage caused as a result of this use;

9) Have unimpeded access at any time of day or night for the purpose of directly stopping crimes, the investigation of which has been assigned by law to the jurisdiction of the state security bodies, or in pursuing persons suspected of committing such crimes, where there are exceptional circumstances that threaten state security, to enter housing or other premises belonging to citizens, and the grounds and premises of enterprises, institutions, and organizations, and inspect them, with subsequent notification of the action taken to the procurator within 24 hours;

10) At the decision of the supreme organs of state power of the USSR, carry out measures to detect crimes in the economic sphere; and enjoy, in these cases, the rights conferred on militia staff by section 19 of article 12 of the USSR law "On the Soviet militia";

11) Carry out preventive work for crimes the investigation of which has been assigned by law to the jurisdiction of the state security bodies. In cases provided for by the legislation, they officially warn citizens of the impermissibility of committing unlawful acts, with subsequent notification of this to the procurator;

12) Keep investigation remand cells and other premises for detaining, in accordance with the legally established procedure, persons for whom confinement under guard has been selected as a preventive measure, the persons detained by the state security bodies on suspicion of committing crimes, and, in individual cases, with the sanction of the procurator, persons detained and arrested by internal affairs bodies, procurators and courts, as well as convicted persons in cases provided for by the law;

13) Carry out, within the limits of their area of competence, the organization and monitoring the safety of USSR State secrets, of the maintenance of the security of special types of communications and cypher work, and of the resolution of other issues of state security in ministries, state committees, departments, at enterprises, institutions and organisations, in the bodies of public associations, in the USSR Armed Forces, the internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and other military formations envisaged by USSR legislation; They can submit representations regarding the elimination of known shortcomings which affect the interests of state security, demand the adoption of relevant measures, and demand that the state security bodies be informed of their implementation;

14) They prohibit the use on the territory of the USSR of radio-electronic means of transmission using unregistered data or violating established regulations, as well as work with information which is a state secret, carried out in violation of established requirements;

15) In the established manner, they can question ministries, state committees, departments, enterprises, institutions, organizations, and the bodies of public associations and receive from them the information necessary for the implementation of their duties in guaranteeing state security;

16) Carry out the official storage of operational, investigational, and other materials relevant to the activities of the state security bodies and establish, in accordance with the legislation of the USSR and the republics, the system for their registration, storage and use: They are to set up information systems.

Article 15. The right of servicemen of the state security bodies to employ and use weapons and special means

I. Servicemen of the state security bodies have the right to carry, keep, employ, and use weapons and special means.

II. Servicemen of the state security bodies have the right as an extreme measure to use weapons in the following cases:

1) To defend citizens from attacks that threaten to kill or injure them, and also to release hostages;

2) To repel attacks on persons whose protection has been entrusted to servicemen of the state security bodies when those being protected are in danger of being killed or injured;

3) To repel an armed or mob attack on buildings, premises, structures, and means of transport being protected by state security bodies;

4) To repel an armed or mob attack on servicemen of the state security bodies and on other persons brought in by these bodies for measures to ensure state security, and also to repel any other attack when they are in danger of being killed or injured;

5) To detain a person putting up armed resistance or caught red-handed committing a serious crime, or a criminal attempting to escape from custody, and also to detain an armed person who refuses to fulfill a legitimate request to lay down his weapon.

Before a weapon is used a warning must be given of the intention to use it.

Arms may be used without warning during a sudden or armed attack, an attack involving combat equipment, vehicles, aircraft, sea and river vessels, escape from

custody with weapons or using vehicles, the escape of persons in custody from moving vehicles, and also to free hostages.

The use of arms against women and minors is forbidden, except in cases where they are carrying out an armed attack or showing armed resistance or are involved in a life-threatening group attack.

Servicemen of bodies of state security have the right to use arms in the following cases:

1) To give an alarm signal or call for help;

2) To stop vehicles by damaging them if the driver is putting the lives or health of citizens at real risk and does not submit to the demands of servicemen of state security bodies to stop;

3) To render harmless an animal threatening people's lives or health.

In all cases involving the application and use of weapons the serviceman of the bodies of state security is obliged to take all possible measures to insure the safety of citizens in the vicinity, give immediate medical aid to the injured, and also inform their relatives or legitimate representatives.

A report is to be drawn up and the procuracy is to be informed immediately of every instance involving the use of arms.

III. Servicemen of state security bodies are entitled to use handcuffs, rubber truncheons, teargas substances, sound and light disorientation devices, devices for opening up premises and forcibly halting transport, water cannon, and other special means, combat fighting techniques, and also to use armored cars, other modes of transport, and service dogs in the following cases:

1) To repel an attack on servicemen of state security bodies and other persons involved by these bodies in undertakings to ensure state security;

2) To repel an attack on persons with the protection of whom they are entrusted;

3) To halt mass disturbances;

4) To repel an attack on buildings, premises, installations and transport facilities being guarded by state security bodies and equally to liberate the specified installations in the event of their seizure;

5) To detain lawbreakers showing disobedience and resistance or deliberately hampering servicemen of state security bodies performing their official duties to ensure state security;

6) To free hostages.

The employment of special means, except in cases of repelling a sudden attack and freeing hostages, should be preceded by a warning of the intention to employ such means and, if circumstances permit, the granting of sufficient time for a cessation of the law infringement. The type of special means and the intensity of its employment are determined with account being taken of the developing situation, the nature of the law infringement, and the personality of the lawbreaker.

When special means are being used, the possibility of causing harm to citizens' health must be reduced to a minimum.

The use of special means is forbidden against pregnant women, persons with obvious signs of disability, and juveniles, except in cases when they are involved in a life-threatening attack, a group attack, or when they are showing armed resistance.

Changes in the list of special means, as well as rules of their use, are regulated by the USSR legislation.

Servicemen of bodies of state security may use helmets, shields, bullet-proof vests and other means of individual defense, for the purpose of ensuring personal security.

Section Four: Legal Status, Social Protection And Responsibility Of The Personnel Of Bodies Of State Security.

Article 16. Legal status of the personnel of bodies of state security

Servicemen of bodies of state security, while carrying out their official duties, are representatives of power and are thus under protection of the state. No one has the right to interfere in their official activity, except for bodies and officials who are directly entitled to do so by law.

Legal demands of servicemen of bodies of state security are binding and must be fulfilled by citizens and officials. Disobedience to legal demands of a servicemen of bodies of state security, insult to a serviceman of bodies of state security, resistance, threat or encroachment upon his life, health or property, as well as any other action preventing a servicemen of bodies of state security from fulfilling his duties, leads to accountability as defined by the legislation of the USSR and the republics.

The defense of the life, health, honor, dignity, and property of members of the families of servicemen of the state security bodies from criminal infringements in connection with the carrying out by these servicemen of their service obligations and duty is provided for by the legislation of the USSR and the republics.

Manual workers and office and professional staff in the state security bodies, if they are enlisted into measures to insure state security not directly connected with their normal functions, enjoy the rights granted to the servicemen of these bodies by points 6 through 9 of article 14 of the present law; the guarantees of legal protection established for servicemen of the state security bodies are extended to them.

Officials of the internal affairs bodies enlisted into the above-mentioned measures enjoy the rights granted to servicemen of the state security bodies by points 6 through 9 of article 14 and by article 15 of the present law; the guarantees of legal protection provided for servicemen of the state security bodies are extended to them.

Illegal actions with regard to citizens and members of their families committed in connection with assistance provided by these citizens to the state security bodies will entail the responsibility laid down by the legislation of the USSR and the republics.

Article 17. Social protection for those who work in the state security bodies.

The state guarantees the social protection of those who work in the state security bodies.

Servicemen in the state security bodies are liable for state compulsory personal insurance paid for from the Union budget. The size of the insurance sums to be paid is determined by the USSR Cabinet of Ministers.

Losses to the property of servicemen of state security bodies caused in connection with the fulfillment of their service obligations or service duty are repaid in full from the Union budget.

Harm which has been inflicted upon a serviceman of the state security bodies as a result of damage to health when fulfilling service obligations or service duties, is to be compensated in full for any part that is higher than a fixed pension, in line with justification for it, by means of the Union budget.

Guarantees of social protection for servicemen of state security bodies and forces of the USSR State Security Committee who have retired from service without the right for pension, are established by USSR legislation.

The social protection of the workers and staff of the state security bodies is provided in accordance with USSR and republican legislation.

In the event that citizens, including blue and white collar workers of the state security bodies, are involved in measures to insure state security, then the provisions stipulated in paragraphs three and four of this article extend to them as well, and in the event of their death, their families are paid an extraordinary grant of the order and size defined by the USSR Cabinet of Ministers.

The provisions for social protection stipulated by paragraphs three and four of this article extend to workers of internal affairs bodies in the event that they are involved by state security bodies in measures to ensure state security.

Article 18. The responsibility of workers of state security bodies

Workers in the state security bodies take decisions independently within the limits of their authority. They bear, in accordance with the law, disciplinary, administrative and criminal responsibility for illegal actions or lack of action.

Section Five: Monitoring And Supervision Of Activity Of State Security Bodies.

Article 19. Control by bodies of state power and government.

Monitoring of the activity of the USSR state security bodies is carried out by the USSR Supreme Soviet, the USSR president, and also the USSR Cabinet of Ministers.

The state security bodies of the republics are accountable to the highest bodies of state power and government of the corresponding republics, as well as to the USSR State Security Committee. The accounting procedure and the nature of the information presented by the USSR State Security Committee and other bodies of state security are determined by the USSR president.

Article 20. Supervision by the procuracy

Supervision of the precise and uniform fulfillment of laws in the activity of the state security bodies is carried out by the USSR procurator general, the procurators of the union republics and procurators subordinate to them.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev, president of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

[Dated] Moscow, the Kremlin, 16 May 1991.

Comparison of Secretaries Council Meeting

PM1905144591

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian on 16 May 1991 carries in its First Edition on page 1 an unattributed report entitled "Primary Party Organization Secretaries Council under the CPSU Central Committee." Comparison of the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA item with the translation of the Moscow PRAVDA Russian version, which was published on page 39 of the 20 May Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, reveals the following variations:

First paragraph, first sentence SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA reads: "...CPSU Central Committee, set up on the basis of the party Statutes, was held at..." (adding phrase);

Same paragraph, second sentence reads: "...and oblast committees. They are all experienced working people heading authoritative party organizations of industrial and agricultural enterprises, scientific, educational, and cultural institutions, and military collectives.

The sitting began..." (adding passage, picking up second paragraph);

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA omits second paragraph, last sentence from "The discussion of..." through "...to vigorous actions.";

Third paragraph SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA reads: "...present crisis conditions.

The speakers were as follows: S.I. Malyshev—"Krasnoyarskiy Mashinostroitelnyy Zavod" Production Association party organization, Krasnoyarsk Kray; N.I. Shesternev—Minsk Computer Production Association; T.I. Ruzakhunov—kolkhoz named for S.M. Kirov, Taldy-Kurgan Oblast, Kazakhstan; N.N. Poddubnyy—"Mars" scientific research institution, Ulyanovsk Oblast; V.I. Kolesnikov—"Rodina" Kolkhoz, Krasnodar Kray; V.D. Maslova—"Oka" Footwear Production Association, Orel Oblast; E.P. Eglit—Latvian Steamship Company; A.P. Beschastnov—Saratov Aggregate Plant; I.K. Tataritskiy—USSR naval subunit. They cited many examples of specific experience of primary organizations' utilization of the extensive opportunities provided by the decisions of the 28th congress. However, there was also mention of the shortcomings of the new CPSU Statutes, particularly as regards the implementation of decisions, party discipline, hierarchical links within the party, and the formation of its budget.

The Secretaries Council..." (adding passage);

Fifth paragraph SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA reads: "...major party documents.

The recommendations drafted by the Council will be made available to the entire party. The council will..." (picking up penultimate paragraph, first sentence, omitting paragraph and adding sentence);

Penultimate paragraph, first sentence SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA omits: "...and will make..." through "...primary party organizations.";

Same paragraph, second sentence reads: "...the party conference.

V.B. Nosov, 46, who has been in charge of the almost 9,000-strong party organization at Moscow's I.A. Likhachev Motor Vehicle Plant since 1985, was elected chairman of the Council of Primary Organization Secretaries under the CPSU Central Committee.

Taking part in..." (picking up last paragraph and adding passage);

Last paragraph SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA reads: "...Central Control Commission. Staff of the CPSU Central Committee and Central Control Commission and representatives of the party press participated in its work." (adding sentence)

TASS Reviews Central Press for 25 May

LD2505083791 Moscow TASS in English 0721 GMT 25 May 91

["Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—Today's PRAVDA and other newspapers publish President Mikhail Gorbachev's message of greetings to the heads of state and government and the peoples of African countries on occasion of the Africa Liberation Day.

Gorbachev wished them success in their struggle for freedom and decent living conditions.

Today's newspapers focus on the fourth Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation.

On Friday, legislators discussed and approved amendments to the Russian Republic's constitution. Amendments to the fundamental law of the Russian Republic were necessitated by introducing the executive presidency and reforming the system of local bodies of authority in the Russian Federation.

PRAVDA notes that the congress works in a businesslike, calm and interested atmosphere, rather unusual for congresses and parliamentary sessions. Deputies have introduced 147 amendments to the Russian Constitution, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA writes. The newspaper notes that the article outlining presidential powers sparked most heated debates, and the congress failed to adopt it.

Newspapers continue publishing election programmes by Russian presidential candidates. RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA carries a programme by Amangeldy Tuleyev.

"I believe that president should at the same time head the government. The congress should be disbanded, as it brings only losses to the country. The number of deputies should be sharply slashed. Regions should receive maximum economic freedom," Tuleyev believes.

In an interview with SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, Vice-Presidential Candidate Boris Gromov speaks about his choice to fight together with Nikolay Ryzhkov for presidency.

"Nikolay Ivanovich is a true intellectual, and there are few such people. His decency, courage, the qualities I value most, have been manifested in the fact that in all hardships, Ryzhkov was together with the people and shared grief and pain with them," said Soviet Deputy Interior Minister Colonel-General Gromov.

PRAVDA carries a large article by its political observer Tomas Kolesnichenko.

He writes that after the Soviet president signed a joint document with the heads of nine republics, both the political situation in the country and the attitude of the West have changed.

Writing about interdependence in today's world, which makes the basis for Soviet new thinking, the author notes that "life itself presses the West to undertake a combined programme for its participation in our perestroyka".

The author quotes U.S. economist G. Sax as saying that the United States would save large sums of money, if

their assistance led to a more peaceful Soviet Union, which could result in reducing the NATO budget.

In an interview with PRAVDA, Chairman of the Committee for Material Reserves at the Soviet Government V. Lodygin speaks about the structure and organisation of the state system of strategic reserves.

Talks about inexhaustibility of material resources are a myth, Lodygin said. "In fact, we are taking much more from strategic reserves, than return there. This has resulted in sharp cuts in reserves," he said.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA writes about what happens with former opposition, after it comes to presidiums and ministries. The emergence of intellectuals and scholars in power bodies is a new political, psychological and moral phenomenon. This explains why such people feel uncomfortable in power bodies, as they have themselves there by chance, the newspaper writes.

Soviet Nuclear Power Industry Minister V. Konovalov writes in PRAVDA about prospects for developing the nuclear power industry in the country. He notes that 15 nuclear power plants produce 12.5 per cent of electric power in the country.

Today's newspapers write about the cremation of former Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's body.

India has said its last good-bye to Rajiv Gandhi, an outstanding state and political figure, PRAVDA writes. PRAVDA notes the tragic character of death in the Gandhi family. The fates of Indira Gandhi and her sons have interlaced in some mythical and tragic chain, the newspaper writes.

"Analysing the situation in Ethiopia, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA writes about the fall of the Mengistu Haile Mariam regime. The newspaper notes the unpredictability of events in Africa's poorest country, drawn apart by ethnic contradictions, and uncertainty of its future.

TASS Reviews PRAVDA for 27 May

LD2705061691 Moscow TASS in English 0603 GMT 27 May 91

["PRAVDA Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow May 27 TASS—Today's PRAVDA carries an official communique saying that President Mikhail Gorbachev on Saturday received Richard Crowder, U.S. undersecretary of agriculture, who is leading a group of U.S. specialists that arrived in the Soviet Union under an arrangement made between the presidents of the Soviet Union and the United States.

Gorbachev and Crowder exchanged views on the state of affairs in the Soviet economy, prospects for its transition to market relations, and Soviet-U.S. cooperation and trade-and-economic contacts.

Under the headline "On the Way to a New Union Treaty" PRAVDA carries an article by TASS news analyst Boris Grishchenko who describes a meeting of the treaty drafting committee at Novo-Ogarevo near Moscow last Friday.

The committee's meeting, presided over by Gorbachev, was called in accordance with a decision of the Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies to work on a draft new Union treaty and determine a procedure for concluding it.

PRAVDA runs an account of last week's meeting of the commission for science, education and culture of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

The commission considered matters concerning the Communist Party's participation in drafting legislative acts on culture and legal support for cultural processes in the country.

Reporting the proceedings and conclusion of the Fourth Congress of Russia's People's Deputies on Saturday, PRAVDA quotes Russian parliament President Boris Yeltsin as saying that "the congress was held in a business-like and constructive spirit. Laws were adopted by a qualified majority, which is illustrative of the consolidation of deputies that adhere to various political positions."

In view of the start of the Russian presidential candidates' election campaign, PRAVDA's editorial board announces today that the newspaper will cover in detail the course of the campaign and will introduce all presidential and vice presidential candidates to its readers.

In today's issue PRAVDA describes in detail meetings between Russian presidential candidate Nikolay Ryzhkov and Smolensk region residents in central Russia who nominated him and sets out the main aspects of his programme which will be published.

The newspaper reports the successful conclusion of the joint Anglo-Soviet space flight and the return of Soviet cosmonauts Viktor Afanasyev and Musa Manarov and British cosmonaut-researcher Helen Sharman to the earth.

Ms. Sharman's work in orbit together with her Soviet colleagues "became an example of the developing Soviet-British cooperation in space exploration," PRAVDA notes.

The newspaper runs the texts of decrees issued by President Mikhail Gorbachev to decorate the two Soviet cosmonauts and Ms. Sharman and her back-up, British cosmonaut-researcher Timothy Mace with high Soviet awards for the preparation and successful accomplishment of the space flight programme.

A PRAVDA commentary headlined "The Doors Should Be Open" deals with reaction abroad to the law, adopted by the Soviet parliament recently, on an exit and entry procedure for the citizens of the USSR.

The newspaper points out in particular that a number of countries, whose governments previously zealously

advocated the elimination of the so-called Iron Curtain, are showing an obvious concern over a likely "mass influx" of Soviet citizens.

PRAVDA writes in this connection that "some people in the West are apparently unwilling to part with the favourite pretext for hindering the development of all-round relations with the USSR and try to hamper the establishment of contacts with the Soviet Union on the plea of "studying" the newly adopted Soviet law.

Noteworthy among foreign topics is information from Delhi about investigation versions concerning the assassination of India's prominent political figure Rajiv Gandhi and the work of Indian competent agencies to ascertain all the circumstances connected with the assassination and developments preceding it.

PRAVDA reports that the civil war in Ethiopia has entered a concluding stage, with rebel forces closely approaching Addis Ababa, the capital of the country, and being virtually in control of the situation in the country.

TASS Reviews Central Press for 28 May

LD2805071191 Moscow TASS in English 0632 GMT 28 May 91

["Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow May 28 TASS - Today's newspapers focus on the session of the Soviet parliament where legislators again began to debate the draft of a new Union treaty and the order of its conclusion, the results of the Fourth Russian Congress of People's Deputies and the start of the election campaign by candidates for the Russian executive presidency.

PRAVDA informs its readers of a meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Margaret Thatcher in the Kremlin on Monday. Thatcher is in the USSR at the invitation of the Soviet president. The newspaper describes in detail Thatcher's meeting with students and teachers of the Moscow International Relations Institute.

PRAVDA and other newspapers of the Soviet Communist Party printed a report from the press centre of the CPSU Central Committee about a regular meeting of the Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee, which discussed the rising wave of economic crime.

The PRAVDA and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA newspapers printed a message of greetings by Gorbachev to the European meeting of scientists and engineers in Helsinki. The Soviet president wished the meeting "fruitful work in the interests of science and man."

Commenting on the results of the Fourth Russian Congress of People's Deputies, PRAVDA writes: "Russia is entering a new phase of its development. A presidential race matching campaigns in the United States began in the republic.

"All candidates approved by the congress promise Russian citizens high living standards, peace and protection. People are tired of promises and political struggle. Therefore, it is difficult to say whom of the six contenders they will prefer."

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carries an interview with Russian legislator Sergey Baburin, 32, a lawyer from the city of Omsk. In his opinion, the Russian Congress of People's Deputies differed from the previous ones in its quality. It was a congress dominated by the trend for authoritarianism.

The KRASNAYA ZVEZDA newspaper describes a meeting between Nikolay Ryzhkov, a candidate for the Russian presidency, and his potential voters—Moscow garrison troops.

The presidential hopeful said that Russia "should follow its own path, relying on originality of Soviet history, using all the best in it and rejecting all the negative."

The SELSKAYA ZHIZN newpaper features an interview with candidate for the Russian presidency Aman Tuleyev. The contender said that the main thing now is "to protect and feed people, to give them a chance to live a human life and to create such economic conditions, under which they could feed and clothe themselves."

All newspapers without comment print a dispatch from Tbilisi about Zviad Gamsakhurdia's election [as] Georgian president. Over 80 per cent of voters supported him at the elections on Sunday.

Newspapers feature numerous materials about border guards' day, which is marked in the USSR today. They carry articles, interviews, reports and other materials. PRAVDA prints an article about the situation on Soviet borders by the chief of border guard troops, Colonel General Ilya Kalinichenko.

Kalinichenko said that the borders are an "endless conveyor of political economic, social, ethnic and military problems. Thousands of various specialists, ranging from the country's leaders to an ordinary border guard, are directly participating in tackling them."

Writing in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, the chief of the Political Department of border guard troops, Lieutenant General Nikolay Britvin, says that "the protection of Soviet economic interests on borders as well as political aspects in the operation of troops ensuring the inviolability of borders and territorial integrity of the Union and Soviet sovereign republics are coming to the fore."

In an interview with the RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA newspaper, Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Nikolay Laverov examines Soviet lagging in scientific and technical progress.

He believes that it would be expedient to set up a consultative council on science and education consisting

of 10 or 15 leading scholars at the Soviet parliament and the Soviet president. These scholars may hold various political views.

The same newspaper features an interview with director general of the Moscow labour exchange Igor Zaslavskiy describing how the exchange tackles issues of employment and social protection of people.

He notes that the lack of tested procedures and reliable instruments for the social protection of working people is the main difficulty for the exchange.

The KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA newspaper tries to explain why private farms in Latvia go bankrupt.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA science analyst M. Rebrov expresses his ideas about the profitability of the Mir space station. He notes that flights by foreign cosmonauts aboard Soviet spacecraft on a "gratis financial basis" and experiments aboard the Mir station "without mutual cash settlements" are at least bad management and even a crime, taking into account the serious economic situation in the country.

The TRUD newspaper deals with the same topic in an article saying that it is a pleasure to make a cheap journey into space, but a pleasure to whom?

PRAVDA comments on the U.S. Administration's stiffer position towards the Chinese leadership. "Let us hope that common sense will prevail in Washington and the present disagreement with Beijing will be overcome for mutual benefit," the newspaper writes.

PRAVDA describes the situation in Yugoslavia. The newspaper writes that the country is living without president since May 16 for the first time in its history. To all appearances, the way out of the consitutional crisis is not around the corner.

Economic

27.1-Billion-Ruble Deficit in 1st Quarter

OW2805054891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1500 GMT 27 May 91

[From "Business Today"]

[Text] Goskomstat, the official Soviet committee on statistics, has reported that the Soviet budget deficit for the first quarter of 1991 amounted to 27.1 billion rubles, a rise of 230 over the same period last year.

According to the official Goskomstat report, this situation is a result of the fact that "certain republics" did not fulfill their requirements regarding payments into the budget as defined in the 1991 agreement for stabilising the official social-economic situation in the country.

The upper limit of the budget deficit for the whole of 1991 had been set at 26.7 billion rubles.

Here are the main figures concerning the Soviet budget for the first quarter of 1991:

Total income	Planned income for 1st quarter (precise)	Actual	% of plan
Profit tax	55.1	19.9	36.2
Sales tax	9.1	2.8	31.0
Foreign trade income	17.0	4.4	26.0
State internal premium loans	0.2	0.16	78.0
State bursary obligations, spread amongst population	-	0.4	-
Duties and other non-tax income	5.0	4.5	89.5
Money from republican budgets for union programs	10.4	5.9	57.3
Other income	4.7	1.2	26.0
Total expenditure	60.9	47.0	77.3
National economy	8.8	4.8	55.0
Budget loans	2.2	1.9	87.1
Expenditure as a result of foreign trade	6.2	2.6	43.0
Science	3.7	2.8	76.3
Social and cultural programs	4.4	3.7	83.6
Maintaining state and governmental organs	0.4	0.35	83.9
Maintaining law-enforcement organs	2.7	2.1	77.5
Defense expenditure	24.4	22.1	90.6
Servicing internal state debt	2.9	2.2	73.0
Chernobyl, Aral and other programs	1.2	1.7	138.5
Other expenditure	4.0	2.7	69.6
Deficit	5.8	27.1	upby 460

Plan To Attract Western Capital Being Prepared

OW2805083791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1500 GMT 27 May 91

[Text] Stanislav Assekritov, recently appointed chairman of the Fund of State Property of the USSR responsible for the preparation and carrying out of privatisation programs in the country, gave INTERFAX an exclusive interview. Amongst other things he discussed the possibilities of foreign participation in the privatisation of property in the Soviet Union.

According to Mr Assekritov privatisation will first of all effect such branches as the light, food and construction industries and the service sector. These are areas where government control is most clearly unjustified.

"The main priorities are food, consumer goods, medicines and transport. We want to do everything so that Western investment would flow in our direction."

The main task of the fund of state property is to plan and carry out programs of sale and privatisation of state owend enterprises, until recently amounting for 90

of all property in the USSR.

Mr Assekritov said, "it is essential to create as quickly as possible the conditions necessary for the normal functioning of enterprises based on other forms of property".

It is planned to attract foreign investors to privatisation. The fund's task is to reevaluate basic production funds on the basis of internationally accepted methods. "We cannot allow our enterprises to be sold on the cheap to our detriment", emphasised Mr Assekritov.

As yet the Soviet parliament has not adopted the law on privatisation, although its draft was discussed at first reading. According to Mr Assekritov, the adoption of the law is being delayed by the political conflicts which surround it.

He went on to say that he was not afraid of charges that he was creating a layer of businessmen and property owners in the Soviet Union. "This new class is essential to us as a mover for progress.... In a short period of time we have to do what has already been going on in the West for decades".

He said that by the end of July the Soviet parliament will be presented with a draft project aimed at attracting Western capital which, in particular, will allow the application of foreign investment under favorable conditions for the processing of useful minerals in Siberia and the Far East. Mr Assekritov also said that he will be speaking in favor of giving long term concessions to foreign firms engaged in mining raw materials.

Baltic Republics

Lithuanian-Latvian Border Posts Attacked, Razed

LD2405220991 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 24 May 91

[Text] At about 2000, attacks were carried out on the border post in Joniskis Rayon, near Kalviai, and on the neighboring Latvian border post. Radio Vilnius was informed by officials of the country's Defense Department that these posts were burned down, most likely by the Riga black berets. The attackers were wearing camouflage uniforms and were armed with automatic weapons and mortars. The officials at the border posts in Lithuania and Latvia managed to withdraw before the attack because they were warned by local residents. There were no casualties. So far, an attack on yet another post, in Salociai, Pasvalys rayon, and on the neighboring post in Latvia is being investigated. This was reported by both the Lithuanian and the Latvian services. According to unconfirmed reports, there were no casualties at these posts, too.

Latvia Adopts 'Urgent Self-Defense' Measures

LD2405201991 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1600 GMT 24 May 91

[Excerpts] Good evening! Just now, a few minutes ago in fact, a joint sitting of the Supreme Council presidium of the Republic of Latvia and of the leadership of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Latvia ended. The leadership of the People's Front of Latvia also participated. As a final result a resolution was adopted on urgent self-defense measures for the prevention of violence by USSR armed units. This resolution came about after a full three-hour discussion because, in the first place, all those present listened to information about what had actually happened. [passage omitted]

First and foremost, the presidium of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Latvia decide to take into consideration the report by the director of the customs department, Salins, on restoring the activity of the demolished customs posts. [passage omitted]

In the second item in this resolution, the public organizations loyal to the Republic of Latvia are called upon to make their work more active in mobilizing society for consolidating security.

The foreign affairs commission of the Supreme Council, led by Mavriks Vulfsons, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, led by Jurkans, must inform the countries of the world and international organizations about the actions of USSR armed units in the Republic of Latvia, and must invite authorized observers to come. This alone testifies to what a serious attitude we have towards these incidents. [passage omitted]

Item four in this resolution instructs the press center of the Surpeme Council of the Republic of Latvia, led by Aleksandrs Milins; and the information service of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Latvia, led by (Gunars Valjuns); the Television and Radio Committee of the Republic of Latvia, led by Risards Labanovskis; and the LETA information agency, led by Aivars Baumanis; and also the leadership of the DIENA newspaper, to jointly insure intensified and continuous collection of information, and to (?view) and comment on events and possible acts of violence in Latvia.

Vaznis, minister of internal affairs of the Republic of Latvia, is instructed by this resolution to strengthen the militia posts on the republic's borders, and also to guard important state property.

In order to insure public security and order and the more normal functioning of customs establishments, it is regarded as necessary, first, to form within the composition of the public security department a border guard branch with corresponding regional branches, border posts, and also a training center. Within the framework of the same department, it is necessary to form a branch of self-defense units with a training center to train persons for work in the self-defense units of towns and rural civil parishes.

Attaching special significance to nonviolent defense methods, it is proposed to form in the presidium of the Supreme Council, a nonmilitary defense center, which could take care of drawing up concrete strategies and collecting information.

The defense and internal affairs commission is instructed to draw up without delay a draft law on the state of emergency and on the land guard. Minister of Internal Affairs Vaznis is to insure by the beginning of June of this year the material and technical supplies for the first militia battalion, to insure its special tasks in combating organized crime, terrorism, and banditry.

In the very near future a sitting of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Latvia must examine the question of improving the activity of the republic's customs service and its material and technical provisions.

The resolution still needs to be edited; therefore, quite probably, there will be changes when it is published.

The resolution is signed by Chairman of the Supreme Council Anatolijs Gorbunovs and Chairman of the Council of Ministers Ivars Godmanis. [passage omitted]

Vagnorius, Pugo Discuss Incidents

LD2405203191 Moscow TASS in English 2006 GMT 24 May 91

[By TASS correspondent Alexandras Budris]

[Text] Moscow May 24 TASS—First Deputy Prime Minister Vitaliy Doguzhiyev and Soviet Interior Minister Boris Pugo on Monday met Lithuanian Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius and Minister Alexander Abisala in Moscow.

Vagnorius later told a news conference in the Lithuanian embassy that participants in the meeting discussed the incidents on the Latvian-Lithuanian border during which OMON [special purpose militia detachment] task forces burned down several customs offices two nights ago.

According to the head of the Lithuanian government, Boris Pugo assured him that the central leadership had nothing to do with the OMON actions and said "local initiative " was to blame. It was agreed that the sides should not regard the incident on the Lithuania and Belorussian border a few days ago as a political conflict. The sides agreed that the interior ministries of the two republics would investigate the shooting accident in which two people were killed.

While discussing political and economic relations between Lithuania and the Soviet Union, Vagnorius said, the sides agreed that the Lithuanian side would draft an agreement on the settlement of trade and economic relations with the republics which will pledge to support the anti-crisis programme of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers.

Participants in the meeting discussed the continuation of the idling negotiations with the Soviet Union. As was earlier reported, the meeting of the official delegations scheduled for early May did not take place. According to Vagnorius, contacts between groups of experts would resume next week and the delegation would probably meet on June 6 and 7.

Vagnorius Comments on Meeting

LD2405135991 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Russian 1100 GMT 24 May 91

[Text] A meeting was held in Moscow today between Gediminas Vagnorius, prime minister of the Republic of Lithuania, and Vitaliy Doguzhiyev, deputy prime minister of the Soviet Union. It lasted two hours. Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius discusses live, by telephone from Moscow, the results of the conversation with our commentator Ceslovas Iskauskas.

[Iskauskas] Esteemed Prime Minister, we have already informed listeners in our republic of the fact that you had gone to Moscow, and for what reason; please tell us what kind of results evolved from your conversation with Doguzhiyev.

[Vagnorius] We came to Moscow in connection with the events that recently took place in Lithuania, mainly those connected with those armed incidents during which Lithuanian people were victimized. Thus, we went to Moscow to urge them to decide on attempting to coordinate and to regulate, through some means, our relations, and to prevent such incidents from becoming an open conflict—since very little remains prior to reaching such a point. Moreover, at the same time, we are undoubtedly hoping to discuss questions pertaining to negotiations, as well. These subjects were discussed by us, precisely with Deputy Prime Minister Doguzhiyev and Internal Affairs Minister Pugo.

[Iskauskas] Tell me, please, what is the outcome of your conversation?

[Vagnorius] Well, I would say that the conversation was carried out in a sufficiently businesslike fashion. We discussed many questions. First, those concerning the Special Purpose Militia Detachment [OMON] activities. They promised not to further encourage similar actions, to the extent that this is dependent upon them. Discussion also involved the meeting of experts. The groups of experts will commence their work next week, deliberating the possible—most importantly, questions of—a possible meeting, and it may begin in [word indistinct] estimation.

[Iskauskas] Do they receive information concerning the events along Lithuania's borders?

[Vagnorius] Yes. They are sufficiently well-informed, especially in view of the fact we ourselves relayed this information. We spent possibly a solid half-hour discussing these definite [word indistinct] as those that had taken place along the Belorussian border. We also agreed that Pugo will appoint his own representative, who will become the mediator in resolving those armed...[changes thought] further activities and the fate of those armed units. He promised that he—the representative—should help me to [words indistinct] in determining how the OMON units and other similar [words indistinct] could be utilized. And we discussed many other, in my estimation, useful [words indistinct].

[Iskauskas] What was the atmosphere like?

[Vagnorius] Well, I would describe the atmosphere as sufficiently businesslike. We also discussed some other questions. However, I think time will tell whether the conversations were [word indistinct]. I think we also will be able to assess them after some time passes. In general, [words indistinct] meeting was useful.

Vagnorius Cables Pavlov on Incident

LD2505134791 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 25 May 91

[Text] Lithuanian Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius has sent a telegram to Valentin Pavlov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. It says:

The Government of the Republic of Lithuania informs you with worry and concern that units subordinated to the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs have, since the beginning of 1991, periodically carried out attacks, aiming to disarm the organs of internal affairs of the Republic of Lithuania.

On the night of 23-24 May, during such an attack, a Special Purpose Militia Detachment [OMON] of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs seized and took away 40 automatic weapons, 11 pistols, and their ammunition from a battalion of the Chief Police Commissariat patrol

service in the city of Vilnius. The participants of this especially dangerous criminal action took refuge in the OMON base of the USSR's Ministry of Internal Affairs. This is a direct help to the criminal world.

Being greatly concerned, we also inform that during the evening of 24 May, the USSR OMON groups carried out a series of armed attacks on and looting at the customs posts on the Latvian-Lithuanian border. The attackers openly mocked peaceful citizens. During one such action a defenseless woman was harmed—Rasa Rastauskiene, deputy of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania.

We draw your attention to the necessity to immediately intervene and resolutely bar the way to such attacks, so that the escalation of a very dangerous situation may be stopped. At the same time we demand that the seized weapons are returned without delay, then there will be no need to seek other means to obtain weapons for the system of internal affairs.

We are convinced that the USSR leadership will appropriately assess the developing situation and will take all the necessary measures.

A similar telegram has been also sent to the USSR First Deputy Prime Minister Vitaliy Doguzhiyev.

Baltics Make International Appeal

LD2605190991 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0700 GMT 26 May 91

[Text] Yesterday, the countries of the Baltic Council—Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia—signed a joint appeal to world parliaments, governments, and the nations of the world concerning the aggressive actions begin carried out within the three Baltic countries.

The statement reads:

In recent weeks, subunits of the Armed Forces and the Internal Affairs Ministry of the Soviet Union have attacked several different sites located on the territories of Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia.

Many individuals have suffered in the course of these attacks and serious material damage was inflicted.

Insolence and mockery, as well as the aggressive provocative nature of the attacks, are increasing everyday.

On 24 May, in attacking the customs post near Salociai village in Lithuania, the Soviet soldiers fired shots at the car of Rasa Rastauskiene, a Supreme Council deputy. She received rough and insolent treatment.

The current situation is reminiscent of the period of time preceding the tragic events of January of this year. A widely coordinated operation in all three Baltic states is being encountered once again. These events clearly demonstrate to the whole world how insincere the Kremlin assurances are following the January events. Force is being used [words indistinct] constructive negotiations between the Baltic states and the Soviet Union have not yet started because of the Soviet Union.

The Baltic States Council appeals to the parliaments, governments, and nations of the whole world urging them to declare a resolute protest against the new acts of coercion taking place in the Baltic states.

While people and buildings continue to be attacked, it can not be seriously believed that the process of reforms and democracy is still continuing within the Soviet Union.

International solidarity during the month of January was able to significantly influence the course of events, [but] unfortunately only after irreparable events had already occurred. It is imperative not to let this happen now, notes the appeal.

'Lithuanians Will Defend Themselves'

LD2605215791 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 26 May 91

[Text] If they attack us, we will defend ourselves, stated the chairman of the parliament, Vytautas Landsbergis, in closing his address on Lithuanian television this evening.

After making the observation that even black Beret detachments stopped when facing well armed Estonian border policemen, Vytautas Landsbergis noted that this weekend the Government of Lithuania is deliberating and preparing the necessary decrees for preserving and strengthening the border services. Moreover, the Lithuanian parliament will discuss the appropriate legal resolutions tomorrow.

Vytautas Landsbergis urged the Lithuanian people to visit the border posts to support the men who serve there, and if the need arises, to be witnesses since the attackers fear evidence and, as has been observed, even collect the bullet casings.

At the same time, according to Vytautas Landsbergis, the war is being continued against us, we who are not warring, only defending and having limited our defense ourselves. This war has been continuing since 1940 even though it changes its forms.

We are currently defending ourselves politically, legally, and morally. By the means that correspond to the people's will and determination, we defended ourselves in January.

Now tension is again being augmented and the acts of violence are being increased. Today the customs posts are targeted by the attackers, tomorrow it will be the country's Defense Department, and the day after the Lithuanian police will be the target. If someone within the distant politburos thinks that we are going to capitulate, declared Vytautas Landsbergis, he is making a major political error.

Landsbergis Blames Moscow For Incidents

LD2705211691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1735 GMT 27 May 91

[By TASS correspondent Kazis Ustsila]

[Text] Vilnius, 27 May (TASS)—Vytautas Landsbergis, head of the Lithuanian parliament, reported today that during the meeting of the Council of the Baltic States in Vilnius, which is planned for 30 May, there will be condemnation "of the situation taking shape in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, in connection with the new wave of violence which is manifestly being built up" against state establishments in those republics.

In an extensive interview with a Russian-languge broadcast of "Radio of Independent Lithuania," he said that at the Council in Vilnius the leaders of the three republics will decide "how to resist and how to cooperate in that sphere and of course how to conduct a common political line."

Vytautas Landsbergis repeated his opinion that the incidents which took place last week on the borders of Lithuania and neighboring republics, the Congress of Deputies of Vilnius region who come out for creating a Polish autonomy in that region, and also the protest meeting of rural inhabitants against the parliament's and the government's agrarian policy, are the work of "the party nomenclature" and of Moscow. The aim of such actions, he thinks, is to "put pressure on Lithuania, to undermine stability in Lithuania on the eve of the forthcoming signing of a Union treaty (which the present leadership of Lithuania is not planning to sign).

The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic today adopted a decision in which it declared the formation of the Special Purpose Militia Detachment (OMON) of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and also other formations "which are not envisaged by the laws of the republic" to be "unlawful", and "the violent actions of these formations against the Lithuanian Republic and its inhabitants" it qualified as "criminal." The republic's government has been instructed to "radically reinforce the protection of the state border of the Lithuanian Republic, and to organize the restoration and reinforcement of destroyed border checkpoints and customs." Law enforcement agencies have been instructed to undertake actions so that all "crimes" committed by OMON formations of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and other armed formations are "thoroughly and objectively investigated while persons who commit them are brought to account and punished."

Pugo Discounts OMON Involvement

PM2605205191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 May 91 Union Edition p 1

[Interview with USSR Interior Minister B. Pugo conducted by I. Andreyev 24 May; first two paragraphs are journalist's introduction, final paragraph is editorial comment: "Who, Then, Was at the Border?]

[Text] Virtually all the news sources connect the alarming reports from the Latvian-Lithuanian and Latvian-Estonian borders, where a series of armed attacks have been carried out on republic customs posts, with the actions of the notorious Riga Special Purpose Militia Detachment [OMON]. Actions by "our people," according to the description of a frenzied Leningrad reporter. Responsibility for what happened is being pinned on them by the leaders of the Latvian Republic, who have sent a message to the USSR president and the USSR prime minister and internal affairs minister.

Since the OMON subunit is part of the structure of the USSR MVD [Internal Affairs Ministry] internal troops, the editorial office deemed it essential to ask the leader of that department, B. Pugo, to comment on the event. That discussion, let us make it clear, took place on the evening of Friday, 24 May.

[Andreyev] Boris Karlovich, judging by the reports from the Baltic, this involves the very OMON who distinguished themselves in Riga in the winter?

[Pugo] We have absolutely no material confirming that the Riga or any other OMON subunit was involved in this event. Nevertheless I did issue an instruction through Colonel General Gromov that an investigation be launched into the customs posts burned and destroyed on the republic borders. A group of USSR MVD staffers has gone to Latvia with instructions to study the situation on the spot.

You are familiar with the message from the Latvian leaders. I have before me a similar telegram from the leadership of Estonia. The reply to it will clearly be the same as Gromov sent, on my instructions, to Latvian Internal Affairs Minister A. Vaznis. Its thrust is as follows: Any charges regarding actions allegedly carried out by the Riga OMOM are completely groundless, tendentious, and provocative. I demand that the facts be objectively and comprehensively checked.

[Andreyev] How do you regard the fact that telegrams provoked by similar dramatic events arrived simultaneously from different Baltic republics—Latvia and Estonia?

[Pugo] It is difficult to give a definite answer... I have, I repeat, as of today no other assessment of the attempts to link the OMON to these events. However, it would appear—we simply sense this—that something provocative is afoot. The situation is being stirred up in the republic.

[Andreyev] The Latvian leaders' message refers to the fact that during the attack on one of the customs posts that not-unknown figure A. Nevzorov [Leningrad-based journalist] was filming everything on video. Can we expect to see yet another feature about "our boys" on Leningrad TV?

[Pugo] It is difficult for me to imagine that in view of what I have already said about the OMON's noninvolvement in these events. One thing is clear—it is impossible to believe that Nevzorov's presence during the attack, whoever carried it out, was pure coincidence.

[Andreyev] How do you personally regard the television work of this "bard" of the OMON?

[Pugo] In my view, he has the courage to talk about what other journalists keep quiet about. Nevzorov can be tendentious, but his reports do make an impression on many, many television viewers. On the whole he is objective... [interview ends, editorial comment begins]

As is clear from the "600 Seconds" broadcast twice shown on Leningrad television, it was Riga and Lithuanian detachments of the OMON which stormed the customs posts, searched people, and set fire to the customs buildings. The inevitable question that arises here is: Either the USSR internal affairs minister is unaware of what his subunits are up to or he is deliberately misleading IZVESTIYA readers! Furthermore, the bandit actions of the "guardians of order" must, it seems to us, receive legal assessment. As far as the "objectivity" of the author of these broadcasts is concerned, that is now absolutely clear.

Pugo Admits OMON Involvement

PM2705194491 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 May 91 Union Edition p 1

[Interviews with USSR Interior Minister B. Pugo and V. Ilyukhin, senior aide to the USSR prosecutor general, conducted by I. Andreyev; time and place not indicated; first two paragraphs are journalist's introduction: "After the Burnings on the Border, From What Sources Does the USSR Minister of Internal Affairs Learn About the Outrages of the Special Purpose Militia Detachment (OMON)?"]

[Text] As readers will probably recall, IZVESTIYA No. 124 published an article entitled "Who, Then, Was at the Border?—which was an interview with USSR Interior Minister B. Pugo. In answering questions regarding the situation on the interrepublic borders in the Baltic, Boris Karlovich completely denied OMON involvement in the dramatic events which occurred at the customs posts. The USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], he said, had absolutely no material on this score.

On the same evening as the interview with the minister, Leningrad television's "600 Seconds" program provided documentary clarification: It was the OMON, "our people," to use the insatiable Nevzorov's term, who were involved. Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Prosecutor V. Dauksis provided the legal basis on the destruction of the customs posts on the program. We had no option but to turn to B. Pugo again.

[Andreyev] Boris Karlovich, do you have any new information on the events on the borders?

[Pugo] I sent USSR MVD teams to Latvia and Lithuania, but I have to date received no information whatsoever, let alone proposals on stabilizing the situation. True, a report by Nevzorov has been transmitted since, which, as I told you, I was not expecting. Nevertheless this is evidence which cannot be ignored.

The situation in the Baltic generated by the establishment of posts independent of all-Union customs organs had been brewing for a long time. Not only have the republic authorities thus split up the country's common customs area, but interrepublic ties are being broken, commodity exchange frustrated, and obstacles preventing the establishment of market economic relations created. Moreover, as the Latvian SSR prosecutor reports, many complaints against the new customs officials are being received from the local population: They take liquor and other items away from people crossing the border; in short, they are acting in a high-handed way... Whichever aspect of their activity you take, everywhere you find breaches of USSR legislation.

[Andreyev] Let us assume that the republic authorities have actually breached USSR laws, whose validity they do not recognize on Baltic territory. It is clear that this problem has to be tackled. But not by such methods?

[Pugo] I agree that the methods are unethical. It has to be established why they resorted to them.

[Andreyev] Are you still in doubt about the OMON's involvement?

[Pugo] Now, after Nevzorov's feature, no.

[Andreyev] Yet, the OMON does come under your jurisdiction. Was the permission of the Latvian and Lithuanian SSR Prosecutor's Offices alone really sufficient for these brutal—to be blunt—bandit raids to be mounted?

[Pugo] This has to be investigated by us...[Pugo interview ends]

[Andreyev] How do they assess what happened in the USSR Prosecutor's Office? V. Ilyukhin, senior aide to the USSR prosecutor general, is on the line to IZVESTIYA:

[Ilyukhin] Roughly four to six weeks ago I analyzed the events in the Baltic and possible measures to eliminate the illegal armed formations. And I thought that the problem with the local customs organizations had also come to a head. Here is just one aspect of the matter. On detaining goods illegally exported from the country at the state border the local customs posts return the confiscated goods not to the Union budget, as prescribed, but to the republic budget. Yet these goods have been brought in from all over the country, from places which are quite often very distant from the Baltic.

[Andreyev] Okay, be that as it may, but justice is being restored in the Baltic, as we can see, by barbaric methods...

[Ilyukhin] I am astounded and depressed by such a turn of events. When blood is shed and matters proceed as

they are proceeding, the situation could result in new bloodshed and even graver consequences.

[Andreyev] Was it the OMON, according to your information?

[Ilyukhin] All the information sources seem to indicate that. However, we do not have precise information on this as yet...

Border Posts Restored

LD2605221891 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 26 May 91

[Text] Tension along Lithuania's border areas has subsided somewhat. No reports have come in to indicate that Lithuanian Republic border control and customs posts have been subject to any attacks on Saturday, Saturday night, or Sunday.

The posts ravaged by the terrorist subunits of the Soviet Army have been put in order as quickly as possible. The country's defense and customs officials are continuing to maintain control of the Lithuanian Republic's borders.

Last week they had to withstand previously not encountered pressure, when more than ten [word indistinct] posts and several tens of Lithuanian officials were beaten up, several were hospitalized, and one official was shot, most probably the result of a revenge motive.

OMON Protests Media Coverage

LD2705210891 Moscow TASS in English 2055 GMT 27 May 91

[By TASS correspondent Serafim Bykhun]

[Text] Vilnius May 27 TASS—Servicemen of the USSR Interior Ministry's Special Task Force (OMON) have issued a protest against a campaign aiming to build up enmity and distrust toward the force among the people of Lithuania.

In a statement issued here today they refuted rumours circulated by the local press about the allegedly unlawful activity of the forces. As a result of this activity a number of customs checkpoints on the borders between Lithuania and other Soviet republics were scrapped.

According to OMON, the reason for the confrontation stemmed from the murder of Soviet Militia Captain Aleksandr Fiyaz by members of "unconstitutional armed groups".

OMON reaffirmed its commitment to socialist legality and said it would do everything in its power to protect the Soviet Constitution and the Constitution of the Lithuanian Republic and the rights and freedoms of their citizens, the statement stresses.

'Hirelings' To Be Held Accountable

LD2705225491 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 27 May 91

["Appeal by the Supreme Council of Lithuania to Citizens and Population of the Republic of Lithuania"—read by announcer]

[Text] The political and military leadership of the Soviet Union, while continuing and expanding its aggressive actions against the Republic of Lithuania, its (?territory) and population, is attempting to recruit hirelings in the republic, and involve them in crimes which are being categorized as both international terrorism and basic robbery.

Participants in these crimes will be held accountable according to the law. Article 785 of the Lithuanian Republic's Criminal Code, provides for punishment for participation in bandit activity.

The Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania is urging those individuals serving in the OMON [special purpose militia detachment] terrorist formations to cease their criminal activity against the Lithuanian Republic and its people, not to carry out the illegal orders they receive, to withdraw from this service, and not to become criminals, even though such a thing might not be intentional.

The Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania asks all residents of Lithuania to keep quiet and to maintain public order, and not to give in to provocative incitement and intimidation.

Resolution on OMON Actions Issued

LD2705223391 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 27 May 91

[Text] A special plenary session in which the border situation was discussed took place today at the Supreme Council of Lithuania. Appropriate documents were adopted and a comprehensive discussion took place.

A resolution was adopted concerning the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] and other Soviet formations and their activities against the Lithuanian Republic and its population, and an appeal to the citizens of Lithuania and its population was also adopted. We introduce their texts:

A Resolution Regarding the Soviet Ministry of Internal Affairs OMON and Other Soviet Formations and Their Activities Against the Republic of Lithuania and Its Population.

Recently there has been an increase in the frequency of acts of violence perpetrated against the institutions and organizations of the Republic of Lithuania and their officials, as well as the civilian population, by armed formations of the Soviet Union, which are carried out by

the OMON armed formations of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, as well as other armed groups of the Soviet Union's military.

Disregarding the fact that such acts of terrorism are universally condemned by many of the world's governments and public and that the leadership of the Soviet Union has promised on several occasions not to use force against Lithuania, the Soviet Union's Armed Forces and the Soviet Ministry of Internal Affairs armed units are spreading acts of coercion against the independent Lithuanian state.

Currently, the violence is directed against the Lithuanian Republic's border control and customs posts, their staff, workers, and border residents. Normal activity of the Lithuanian Republic's state institutions is being disrupted, their property is being destroyed and robbed, people are being injured, and a direct threat against their lives is being posed by these actions.

The Soviet Union is seeking to destabilize the political situation, to incite disturbances, and thus to harm the Lithuanian state by such provocative actions. Serious criminal symptoms are inherent in such actions and thus, the individuals who have committed them must be held criminally responsible in accordance with the Lithuanian Republic's laws.

The illegal subunit of the Soviet Union Procuracy in Lithuania is attempting to furnish a semblance of legality to these acts of terror.

Total responsibility for the armed group actions in Lithuania falls to the leadership of the Soviet Union, regardless of attempts to dissociate itself from them.

In condemning these unlawful actions and in seeking to ensure the safety of the Republic of Lithuania and its population, the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania, resolves:

First, to declare that the Soviet Ministry of Internal Affairs OMON and also any other formations that are not provided for by the laws of the Republic of Lithuania are illegal within the Republic of Lithuania. Moreover, any actions by these formations against the Republic of Lithuania and its population are criminal.

Second, to note that in accordance with the laws of the Lithuanian Republic, not only the perpetrators of the direct crimes are being held criminally responsible, but also the organizers, instigators, supporters, and also the individuals who have concealed these crimes, prevented their discovery, or failed to report them.

The carrying out of an ordered illegal act does not absolve the individual who has committed the crime from criminal responsibility.

Third, to remind that every official, every citizen, and also any other resident of the Lithuanian Republic has a constitutional right, consolidated and guaranteed by the state within the Provisional Basic Law, to defend himself and to defend his state, protected buildings, and other individuals from any dangerous criminal attempts, employing all legal means at his disposal to resist any attacker.

Fourth, to direct the law-protecting institutions of the Republic of Lithuania, in cooperation with the neighboring state institutions, to employ additional actions in order to accomplish a thorough and objective investigation of all such crimes, while their perpetrators should be held responsible and punished.

It is imperative to conclude, based on the already accomplished acts of robbery by the Soviet Ministry of Internal Affairs OMON formations, and based on the directed investigation, whether this entire group could be proclaimed a gang of bandits and terrorists, with a corresponding responsibility of each of the gang members.

Fifth, to direct the Government of the Republic of Lithuania to strengthen in essence the protection of the Lithuanian Republic's state border and to organize the reconstruction and consolidation of the destroyed border control and customs posts.

Sixth, to direct the border region municipal authorities to provide comprehensive support to the Lithuanian Republic Country's Defense and Customs Departments in order to ensure normal work of the border control and customs posts.

We have read the Supreme Council resolution regarding the Soviet Ministry of Internal Affairs OMON and also other Soviet formations and their actions against the Republic of Lithuania and its population.

RSFSR

RSFSR Congress 24 May Proceedings Reported

LD2405205491

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1845 GMT on 24 May carries a program with recorded excerpts on the proceedings of the Fourth Congress of Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, Congress of People's Deputies session in the Kremlin on 24 May.

At 1846 GMT Yeltsin declares a quorum present and opens proceedings. He gives the floor to "Secretariat head Gennadiy Vasilyevich," who refers to demonstrations by soldiers' mothers and proposes that an expert group of deputies, to include Yernakov, Rutskoy, Alekseyev, Yevtushenko, and Kirichenko, be formed to deal with the matter.

The same speaker gives details of written questions submitted by deputies and warns that some deputies are misusing this facility.

Yeltsin asks whether anyone disagrees with the proposal for an expert group to deal with the question of the soldiers' mothers. Nobody disagrees.

At 1853 GMT the report cuts to the resumed debate on amendments to the Constitution in connection with the presidency. Various deputies are shown proposing individual amendments referred to only by number, and the results of votes are shown on the display board.

At 1857 GMT Khasbulatov, from the platform, clarifies the concept of a higher economic court and a higher arbitration court which have arisen in the debate.

Shakhray, from the floor, contests Khasbulatov's interpretation.

Next Grebennikov, of the drafting commission, explains the background to the choice of one term or the other.

Baburin suggests a way out of this terminological dispute and is voted through.

At 1902 GMT Deputy Slobodkin speaks from the floor for an amendment concering the status of Moscow as the RSFSR capital versus its status as USSR capital.

Shakhray disagrees and an ensuing vote rejects the amendment.

A deputy in uniform speaks for deferring to the wisdom of the Federation Council matters concerning sovereignty. Shakhray makes a brief response.

Deputy Abdulatipov adds comments against the amendment which is then voted down.

At 1911 GMT Yeltsin put to a vote the constitutional amendments connected with the presidency. They are approved by 894 to six.

Next the debate turns to a package of constitutional amendments connected with the institution of local self-government. Brief points from the floor are made by deputies Baburin, Kirpichnikov, and Zhukov.

A reporter says the debate went on at length and the video cuts to show the end of the debate, with a vote of 809 to 32 for the package.

At 1916 GMT Khasbulatov, now in the chair, introduces Silayev, who speaks from the podium about the program for the rebirth of the Russian countryside. The program has been well received. Nevertheless, he says, public doubts have been voiced recently about the government's commitment to the program. He cites some statistics for agricultural performance in 1990: the budget for this year has allocated 15 percent for agriculture; further comparisons are given with budgeting for 1989. The financial situation deteriorated in the first quarter of 1991, he adds, and capital construction has been adversely affected by the price rises. These rises also threatened to affect credits granted to many farmers but the government had decided that interest rates should remain unchanged.

Silayev goes on to say that imported equipment has also become more expensive. Quarterly compensation is to be provided, pegged to results in the preceeding quarter. The Ministry of Finance has calculated that all these measures will cost 36 billion rubles. All this said, it is illogical to blame the introduction of the market for these troubles, when the market has not yet actually been reached, he adds. Work is being completed on an agricultural bank. Silayev admits that there are other specific problems concerning supply of equipment, for instance, but calls on farmers to fulfill their side of obligations. At this important time reconciliation and patience are needed, he concludes.

At 1933 GMT Yeltsin asks if 15 minutes will suffice for answers to questions by Silayev. There is general assent to this suggestion.

At 1934 GMT a deputy poses a question at considerable length, criticizing the government performance. Silayev briefly dismisses the "unprepared" statement.

Next Deputy Morozov from Vladimir Oblast laments the effects of agricultural pricing mechanisms. Silayev gives a reassuring reply.

Deputy Manyukhin from Novosibirsk Oblast speaks of the special problems affecting small farmers. Silayev says a special meeting planned to look at these problems.

Deputy Surkov asks whether a proper infrastructure can be created to give small farmers access to machinery, avoiding manipulation by certain powerful figures. Silayev hopes this will be possible.

A deputy asks about the interest rates. Silayev suggests he speak to Finance Minister Lazarev in the interval.

A deputy who is a collective farm chairman complains about low prices, for milk, for instance. Silayev says we all have to work together to make a success of the government program.

At 1944 GMT Khasbulatov suggests that additional information be provided by "Boris Mikhaylovich"—not further identified

The video cuts to show "Boris Mikhaylovich" addressing the hall on aspects of problems affecting peasant farms and measures in hand to improve their position.

At 2018 GMT, after the "Vesti" newscast, questions and answers are put to the "Boris Mikhaylovich" who has just spoken. A deputy asks for clarity to be introduced into the situation and for all of this section of the discussion to be televised.

Deputy Peruyenskiy says we should behave properly. He asks what deputies should do in their areas regarding the continuing agricultural reforms. He is told to keep in contact with the local authorities.

Deputy Alekseyevich asks about Lapshin, but Khasbulatov says that there can be no discussion of Lapshin.

At 2023 GMT Deputy Tarasov draws attention to the fact that sabotage is going on in Rostov Oblast. He lists the defects present in the implementation of the agrarian

reforms and notes instances of violation of land laws. The reply is that the local procurator should look into such cases.

Deputy Kudinova complains about lack of working space for officials who are trying to implement the land reforms. Measures have been taken to give people the facilities they need, the reply comes. This is a matter for local authorities to deal with.

Deputy Kaufman says that land committees and peasant farms have been formed. There is no possibility for the land committees to work effectively because they have no transport or facilities. Can this situation be improved? The reply is that only 300 vehicles have been given to land committees, therefore no promise can be made that the situation will be improved.

At 2030 GMT the announcer says that Khasbulatov then read text of the decision on N. Ossetia. He does not put it the vote, however.

A secretariat figure, "Gennadiy Vasilyevich" comes to the podium and proposes that tomorrow, they start at 0900 so as to be able to finish tomorrow. A show of hands agrees on this proposal.

The same speaker reports that the Secretariat recommends that a patriotic deputies group be registered. Miscellaneous announcements are made. He notes that complaints have been received that Radio Rossii has sometimes been blocked out with the Moscow Radio First Program and Mayak.

Silayev Discusses Land Reform

LD2405211691 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1916 GMT 24 May 91

[Speech by RSFSR Premier Ivan Silayev at the Fourth Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies in the Kremlin, Moscow, on 24 May—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrade people's deputies! In connection with the deputies' questions put by a group of agriculturalists, I consider it necessary to announce the following. The deputies' corps of the republic and the government, drawing on a large number of scientists and workers in the practical field, have developed and approved a program for the revival of the Russian countryside. For the first time the principles of the multiplicity of structures of economic management in the countryside have been enshrined in legislative form, whose foundations are land reform, the acceleration of social development of the countryside, and priority development of the agro-industrial complex. This program has met with approval in society and has been supported by agricultural workers. All the government's practical activity is formed on the basis of it.

Nonetheless, recently, voices have been heard ever more frequently saying that the government has supposedly rejected this program, is not fulfilling the obligations it has assumed, and is moving toward the collapse of agriculture. Those who spoke out against the agricultural reform at the second congress are especially active in this respect.

But what is the state of affairs in the countryside in actual fact? What measures are the government undertaking in order to unconditionally fulfill the decisions of the Second and Third Congress of People's Deputies?

A few words on last year's results. Despite the contraction of production in the countryside by 4 percent, the total profit in the agro-industrial complex came to 37.5 billion rubles [R], which is almost 3 billion more than in 1989. Under extremely unfavorable weather conditions and the decrease in the volume of production, approximately 3 percent of state farms and 2.6 percent of collective farms ended their activity with losses.

The sum total profitability of agricultural production amounted to 37 percent; in the production of grain, 158 percent; meat, 26 percent; and milk, 56 percent.

It should be noted that these figures are significantly better than in other spheres of the national economy. And we are pleased with this state of affairs. For your information, I will say that last year industry, having practically maintained its volumes of production at the level of 1989, had an average profitability across the republican economy of 15 percent, and on the whole throughout the territory of 12 percent. The number of loss-making enterprises amounted to 8.5 percent. This is for your information.

Forming the budget for 1991, the government proceeded from the decision of the second congress to ensure the priority development of the countryside, allocating 15 percent of the national income for its development.

Considering the fact that we are constantly being accused of not carrying out this decision of the congress, I want to give specific figures. A total of R55 billion, that is 10.2 percent of the national income, has been put into the 1991 budget for the direct financing of capital investments and allocations for the development of rural health care, education, and other social needs. In addition there are R14.8 billion from taxation and credit benefits. Finally R12.2 billion has been allocated in stabilization funds for the requirements of the agrarian sector. It is thus planned altogether to invest R82 billion in the development of the agrarian sector. This is 14.94 percent of the national income. Moreover 50 percent more funds than in 1990, in comparable prices, has been allocated for the financing of the countryside from the republic's budget alone.

Those in agriculture have rightly demanded that they be granted more independence in disposing of the output they produce. This is one of the important conditions for the development of market relations. In formulating the budget the government put forward the proposal, which was supported by the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet, to move away from the 100 percent food allocation called the state order, and establish a food tax and state order only on certain

types of agricultural produce at a level of 70 percent of the actual volume of production in recent years. True, under pressure and at the request of local bodies in a number of oblasts, we were forced to raise the size of the state order for the sale of meat and milk. However, even in these conditions, taking into account the fact that a state order and a food tax were not established for fruit and vegetable produce and a number of industrial crops, about 40 percent, or R42 billion in last year's prices, of all the output produced during the current year will be marketed at contract prices and at the discretion of the producers themselves. As far as we know, not one other republic has accomplished this. Such are our actions planned for the year 1991.

However, in the first quarter of the current year, a deterioration began in the financial condition of collective and state farms. There are several reasons for this.

The first is the reduction of volumes of sales of livestock products, which bring considerable profit to farms. The second and the main reason is the swift price rises for material and technical resources and rates for services to agriculture which were caused by the introduction of new wholesale prices. In this it should be pointed out that we receive 90 percent of resources and equipment from enterprises of union subordination. Unfortunately we failed to influence these enterprises in an active way.

We have analyzed the real situation which has taken shape. Here are the results for 46 main regions. The cost of resources and equipment consumed by the countryside has increased by 83 percent, while the price increase envisaged was 39 percent. Therefore over the first quarter alone an unplanned rise in prices in the country amounted to more than R3.2 billion. This disregards the rise in the cost of construction and compensation payments to workers in agriculture in connection with the increase of consumer prices.

The situation in capital construction causes special concern. As long ago as December-January, we could feel the abnormality of the situation. For a whole number of reasons the cost of construction has practically trebled, while according to the norms of the USSR State Planning Committee and State Construction Committee, in connection with the transition to new wholesale prices an increase in prices by 60 percent was envisaged. All this has really jeopardized the program for reviving the Russian village, creating private farms and developing individual housing construction.

In order to protect the agricultural sector from swift price rises and to maintain parity between the countryside and industry, which operated last year, and on this basis to preserve the 1990 level of profitability of agricultural production, the government is implementing the following measures. At the expense of the state budget, compensation is being paid to workers of the whole agro-industrial complex in connection with the increase of consumer prices. Calculated over a year this amounts to almost R10 billion, though in industry this is done at the expense of the enterprises' resources. Agrarian deputies recently expressed many complaints regarding credit rates and loans borrowed earlier. We have considered this matter in an efficient way and have preserved low rates of interest which previously operated for those credits which collective and state farms still have. This makes it possible for farms to save R2.3 billion.

Many deputies expressed their concern that the abolition of budget financing of peat extraction and soil cultivation may reflect negatively on the fertility of soil. The government took this into consideration and allocated R2 billion, so that 50 percent of these expenses would be financed from the budget.

Further, according to a decision of the Union Government, the commercial rate of the ruble for purchasing imported equipment was changed. This put the introduction of new industrial capacities, equipped with imported machinery, in jeopardy. And this primarily concerned the processing industry within the agrarian complex. Therefore, we were compelled to find an additional R12 billion in the budget in order to compensate for this increase in expenses.

The decision of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the RSFSR Council of Ministers of 20 May, on implementing the decisions of the second and third congresses of people's deputies on insuring the indexation of prices and tariffs and compensation to the organizations and enterprises within the agrarian complex for the real increase in prices of material and technical supplies, tariffs and services, it a most important document. According to this resolution, the indexation of tariffs and prices of agricultural and industrial products and services is being introduced, as well as compensation for additional expenses in agriculture. This is going to be performed by the quarter. A R3 billion advance payment was allocated as compensation for unrecorded expenses in the first quarter of the year. I would like to emphasize it, an advance payment of R3 billion. It was said yesterday that this sum was just an additional allocation of funds. This is an advance payment as a result of work in the first quarter.

The question of compensation for the increase of expenses in capital construction is solved. Full compensation is going to be paid to the agro-industrial complex, according to the agreed documentation on designs and costs of construction. R500 million will be allocated for this purpose in May.

All in all, for these measures of ensuring economic parity between industry and countryside, no less than R36 billion will be required, according to the Ministry of Finance estimate. Not R3 billion, but 36 billion. Thus, taking the actual situation into consideration, we will have to put R118 billion into the agrarian sector in 1991. This equals 20.3 percent of the estimated national revenue, which is, unfortunately, continuing to dwindle, as it has been doing throughout the first quarter of the year.

It follows that, in this situation, the share of expenses in the national revenue will grow. We can thus be fully justified in calling the 1991 budget, an agrarian budget, thus taking into consideration the grave realities of our life.

All these measures will be reflected in the emergency budget for 1991.

Further, I cannot agree with the criticism that the government's program contradicts the program of revitalizing the countryside. On the contrary, it is the industries that supply the consumer market that will be the first to profit from a decisive transition to a market economy. Violations of price parity are a result of the lack of market. The work on creating a market is a guarantee of a true parity. We think it illogical to blame a program that has not yet been implemented, for the things which are happening now, when there is no market.

I think the agrarians must be the first to support this program, since it presupposes maximum support for the consumer market and for those who work for the consumer market. And the program of a revitalization of the countryside is its most important integral part.

In this program we could not give specific details of actions, terms, figures, percentages, and dates. All this is to be done in the very near future by working out specific programs of implementation of main sections of the economic program, and this is being implemented at the moment. We will be happy to receive suggestions from the agrarians about specific contents for the respective sections of the program.

As for establishing an agricultural bank, the work on this issue is now being completed. A founding congress has been held. Decisions will be taken in the near future. At the same time it is very important, what the bank is going to be like: Whether it is going to be a state commercial bank, as a number of people's deputies suggest, or a republican commercial bank. The difference is crucial. It should indeed be a republican commercial bank with proper branches in the regions of the Russian Federation. The latter version corresponds with the structure of market commercial relations. We hope that this question will be taken into consideration in completing the work on this document and on establishing the bank, and that a republican commercial bank will start to operate in the interests of the agrarian complex.

Such are the actions of the government in order to implement the decisions of the second extraordinary congress of people's deputies, and of the third congress. You can hardly say, in an objective and unbiased way, that they are aimed at the destruction of collective farms and state farms. On the contrary. In spite of all the difficulties and an enormous budget deficit, the government, together with the Supreme Soviet, is finding means to prevent a worsening of the economic situation in the countryside, because it understands how important it is to improve food supplies for the population. Today, a lot of problems, unfortunately, remain unresolved in the countryside.

There are serious difficulties in the preparations for gathering in the harvest and also in the delivery by industrial enterprises of spare parts and equipment. The state of affairs in animal husbandry is slowly improving. The situation remains complex as regards food supplies to the industrial centres. We are working to solve these problems.

At the same time I should like to request those in agriculture to improve work on fulfilling their commitments in respect of food deliveries on account of the food tax and the state order. Unfortunately, over the first four months there has been a considerable backlog in this respect. Together we need to improve work on fulfilling the social programs for the development of the countryside, as there is a certain amount of lagging here too.

Esteemed comrade agrarian deputies, we have together embarked on the path of transformations and have elaborated a Russian program for the countryside. Much complex work has to be done, without parallel in our economy. At this difficult period, the government appeals to you to give every kind of support on the spot and to display unity and tolerance at this important period for Russia.

Finally, esteemed people's deputies, I should like to say that tomorrow morning you will be presented with material that reflects more fully the material that has been set forth today. Thank you for your attention.

RSFSR Congress 25 May Proceedings Reported

LD2505204691

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1845 GMT on 25 May carries a program with recorded excerpts on the proceedings of the Fourth Congress of Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, People's Deputies session in the Kremlin on 25 May.

Boris Yeltsin is in the chair and declares a quorum. Khasbulatov is seated beside Yeltsin. Klochkov of the Russian independent trade unions takes the floor and speaks on executive power in the republic, calling for confidence in Silayev's government.

At 1850 GMT Yeltsin announces the next item on agenda: the bill on the Constitutional Court. Shakhray, head of the committee on legislation, takes the floor and delivers his report, outlining the aim of the court. He reads out the main provisions of the bill, focusing on special features of the court, its function, and role. He goes on to the structure of the bill, which consists of four sections. Shakray gives details of the provisions covering the makeup, powers, activities, and task of the court. He concludes by noting that Russia is entering a period of political and moral discovery in which the primacy of the law has to be recognized as supreme. He calls for the Congress to endorse the bill and then withdraws his candidacy to work in the court.

The studio announcer then says that Shakhray then replied to questions, which was followed by a discussion of the bill. Shakhray is again shown speaking, followed by Deputy Babayev and other deputies expressing their views on the bill. Yeltsin announces the end of the discussion. Three possible course of action are proposed; they are put to a vote, and the congress decides to delay the matter until its next session.

At 1914 GMT Khasbulatov Delivers a report on the Union treaty and Federation treaty. Khasbulatov then replies to questions on national self-determination, on the formation of new union organs.

Khasbulatov's report is then noted by the Congress. The Congress next discusses the situation on the Armenia-Azerbaijan border. A deputy proposes not broadcasting this section of the proceedings, which passes. Yeltsin proposes noting the statement by the Northern Ossetian deputies, and entrusting the chairman of the Supreme Soviet with checking implementation of the law in accordance with the constitution. A deputy asks for a clarification of allegations made in a recent film concerning Soviet casualities in the Persian Gulf.

At 1927 GMT Yeltsin says all items on the agenda are exhausted. He pays tribute to the work of the Congress, thanks the deputies, guests, media, and premises personnel. He declares the congress closed. The deputies stand for the Rusian anthem. The program ends at 1928 GMT.

Statement on Azerbaijan, Armenia

LD2705194491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1835 GMT 27 May 91

["Text" of statement by RSFSR, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republics, Congress of People's Deputies on the situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia, adopted on 25 May in Moscow]

[Text] "Having heard a briefing on the visit by a group of RSFSR people's deputies to Azerbaijan and Armenia, and a report on the hearings conducted by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Human Rights on the situation which has come about there, the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies expresses serious anxiety over the extreme exacerbation of the situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia. Many arrests, detentions, seizure of weapons and hostages are being carried out in the areas of conflict. Entire villages are being deported, irreparable damage is being done to citizens' property. The civilian population is suffering. Blood is being shed. People are dying, the elderly, women, and children too.

Of particular concern is the fact that in contravention of the USSR Consitution and USSR laws, regular formations of the Soviet Army, staffed in considerable measure by citizens of the Russian Federation, are taking part in the conflict, and furthermore, outside the emergency situation areas.

The congress confirms its respect for the sovereignty of Azerbaijan and Armenia and its conviction that the tragic conflict must be resolved on the basis of bilateral talks between the republics.

The escalation of violence and the mass violations of human rights must be ended immediately. The resolution of the Congress of People's Deputies of the RSFSR "On the procedure for the participation of national servicemen in resolving interethinic conflicts" of 11 December 1990 must be rigorously observed.

The Congress of People's Deputies states:

1. The president of the USSR must take steps immediately to rule out the use of USSR Armed Forces and internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs for any purpose whatsoever except the separation of the conflicting sides.

2. In accordance with international standards and agreements on human rights, the deportation of peaceful inhabitants should be stopped and conditions created for their return to the places where they previously resided, hostages should be released, and those under investigation in cases related to the armed clashes should be handed over to the jurisidiction of the USSR Procuracy.

Violations of human rights must be stopped, whoever commits them."

Yeltsin on Draft Treaty Discussion

LD2505213991 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1630 GMT 25 May 91

[Remarks by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet, at 25 May session of the Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies in the Kremlin in Moscow—recorded]

[Text] I would like to add a few words, bearing in mind yesterday's discussion of the issue [of the draft Union treaty] by the committee, which consisted of the Federation Council, with all leaders of republics participating, including the republics within the Russian Federation, under the chairmanship of the country's President. I think that a very constructive, interesting, and quite specific analysis of, so to speak, another, improved version of the Union treaty and of some of its principles took place. An overwhelming majority of participants of the Federation Council spoke and made very interesting proposals, and, by the way, some of these proposals were actually taken from the proceedings of the group of experts representing four republics, who had met in Kiev. Since all the four republics agreed about these principles, they handed the appropriate materials over to the president and he agreed that they should be included in the list of proposals for the new Union treaty, or rather, the treaty of the union of sovereign states.

Specifically, the following issues were discussed: First, the title of the treaty; second, the name of the Union itself;

third, subjects of the federation; fourth, a formula for signing the treaty; fifth, division of functions and property.

On the first issue, for example, the majority, effectively an overwhelming majority, agreed that the treaty should be entitled the treaty of the Union of sovereign states. However, the word republics will remain in the text since there is no juridical contradiction here.

The second issue, concerning the name—there were several, but the idea prevailed that we should stick to the name USSR, but put a new meaning into it—Union of Sovereign Soviet Republics.

Further—I am now telling you how the discussion went on so this is not an adopted decision yet, but a discussion—concerning the division of functions and property. Well, in principle, a decision was made that this process should be speeded up so that this process is completed before signing the Union treaty, because a Union treaty cannot be signed without a division of functions and property of the center and republics having been completed. We have firmly agreed—and it was everybody's opinion—that this is a federative state and not a confederation. I would say that the participants of yesterday's discusison of the draft were unanimous her.

Well, with regard to the federation, there have been many debates around the question of taxes. After all, if there is a federation, then the traditional option is a two-tier tax system. But our Supreme Soviet has, of course, passed a different law on the tax system. If we indeed reach the conclusion that we need a two-tier system, then we at the Supreme Soviet will have to reexamine this question.

As for the signing procedure, effectively all republics but one within the RSFSR debated the question of signing the treaty at their own Supreme Soviets. Gradually, all leaders but one agreed to follow the signing procedure under which the RSFSR signs first and is followed by the delegations of all the other republics of the RSFSR in alphabetical order. In his concluding speech the president said that it is nevertheless impermissible for a republic, which is a member of another republic, to sign the Union treaty independently. It is therefore proposed that we contact Comrade Shaymiyev and conduct a debate here with a view to convincing the leadership of the Tatarstan to agree that the given signing procedure is uniform for everyone.

But, of course, these are not the only questions which were discussed. The debate continued for eight hours till very late at night. Many other questions were discussed but overall discussion was constructive, businesslike, with all the participants of yesterday's meeting being respectful of one another. I think that another serious step was made taking us further toward signing a Union treaty.

What did we agree on doing next? Not all the Union republics have discussed the draft of the Union treaty. We discussed it at the congress—you know about this—and we made our relevant remarks. But not everybody has discussed the draft. That is why we decided to do the following: We have a new, actually, not a new but an improved version. We have now to somehow to collect together the remarks that were expressed yesterday, get together once again and try to work out at the level of the Federation Council, so to speak, an agreed document. And after this it is to be given to all the Supreme Soviets for discussion as a version not of the center but precisely of this committee which has been entrusted with preparing the draft of the Union treaty. Then the Supreme Soviets should examine the draft in June so that document is somehow ready or prepared to be signed in July. This approximate date was adopted by all the participants yesterday at the sitting of the Federation Council.

Discussion Detailed

LD2505163991 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1420 GMT 25 May 91

[Report by unidentified correspondent, including recorded remarks by Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Boris Yeltsin, from the Kremlin—live; monitored in progress]

[Text] [Correspondent] ...minutes ago, Boris Nikolayevich, surrounded by a crowd of journalists, left Granovitaya Palace. The news conference lasted about an hour and a half. I have never seen so many journalists in one place for so long a time, and of course there were very many questions. I made a note of some of them. For instance, what candidates for president did Boris Nikolayevich regard as his strongest rivals? Boris Nikolayevich replied that it was a principle of his not to make adverse comments about other candidates. It would be unethical to examine their strong and weak points now. Boris Nikolayevich said he did not rule out a situation in which one of the candidates at the end of the election marathon could pull out to strengthen someone else's position by transferring his votes, enabling the other candidate to put up a stronger showing against Yeltsin. The question of whether Yeltsin would stay on as chairman of the Supreme Soviet if he failed to be elected president of Russia met with the terse and clear reply: No!. Replying to a question about the campaign trail, Boris Nikilayevich mentioned so long a list of towns that I simply cannott repeat them all. He will return to Moscow before the actual elections, and he will also be in the capital during brief breaks. He will take part in the television program "Who's Who" and will grant an interview to Russian Television before the election. There was one very important question about the Union treaty. Here is what Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin had to say about yesterday's session of the Federation Council:

[Begin Yeltsin recording] Yes, there was a session yesterday of the preparatory committee working on the Union treaty, comprising the Federation Council. Held in Novo-Ogarevo, it was chaired by the president. The chairmen, or leaders of all the republics, including republics within the Russian Federation, took part in it. All were present.

Practically everyone spoke. The discussion lasted eight hours and continued late into the night. The discussion was constructive. A number of things were adopted. Thus progress was made yesterday: perhaps not two steps forward, but at least one firm step toward the day the Union treaty is signed. We agreed overall that we should prepare for the signing of the treaty—bearing in mind that the final draft is going to be examined by the republican Supreme Soviets—in June. That, at any rate, is what we will be striving for.

When we discussed the method of signing—we met alongside the leaders of the Supreme Soviet of the republics which form part of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR], as I had specially invited them—all of them agreed that they should sign with the RSFSR delegation and then the republics of the RSFSR should sign in alphabetical order. Shaymiyev, chairman of the Tatarstan Supreme Soviet, expressed a differing view, invoking a decision of their Supreme Soviet. I asked him to return once again to this matter, particulary since the president of the country was there and the view of the president of the country was that there should be a single principle and all the republics that form part of other republics should sign together with the republic. I was asked to continue the dialogue, and of course I will. Shaymiyev and I agreed to meet again, and perhaps we may also meet a group of Supreme Soviet deputies from Tatarstan to discuss this problem. The point is that if they sign separately, outside the RSFSR, the other republics will not sign the Union treaty. That would lead to a deadlock, and we need to break this deadlock and find a solution. I think that such talks will of course take place and I very much pin my hopes on the good sense of the Supreme Soviet of Tatarstan and its leadership. [end recording]

Khasbulatov Discusses Treaties

LD2505213191 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1941 GMT 25 May 91

[Report by Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov to the Fourth Congress of Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic's People's Deputies session in the Kremlin on 25 May—recorded]

[Text] We perceive a very great degree of concern and friendly sympathy on the part of the Union republics. What is the essence of these problems? The essence lies in the fact that all the republics proceed from the premise that they want to see a united Russia. And it would appear that this awareness has also penetrated, as it were, into the intellect of our most prominent politicians, who have said quite clearly and unambiguously at the most recent meetings that if there is no united Russia, there will be no united Union and no Union treaty.

What have we been unable to do that the congress instructed us to do? To adopt the actual text of the federation treaty! Here we came up against two kinds of contradictions. On the one hand, we received a great many observations from the republics themselves on the content side of this treaty. On the other hand, there were very many observations on the part of members of the Supreme Soviet and specialists on this issue. If you recall, in a quite extensive report made here at the last congress, I said that we are actually encountering an ongoing process of switching the constitutional structure of our state to a somewhat different state structure, namely, to a treaty-based structure, an attempt to replace a constitutional republic with a treaty-based republic.

I would like to assure you that there is absolutely no artificial opposition to the federation treaty in the Supreme Soviet. There is an understanding of the need to elaborate it taking due account of very serious observations, and the Chamber of Nationalities, which has done a great deal to really prepare a fine document, is also full of determination to bring this serious work to completion. It is true that apprehensions do, nevertheless, remain—very serious ones—and I am simply expressing them, irrespective of my judgement. But in general, such attempts to switch to treaty-based relations—isn't this a blind alley, leading to the danger of a rift in the unity of the state? There are also such thoughts. Although we perhaps do not support them, a very serious attitude has to be taken toward them.

In this regard, I would like to draw your attention to the following aspect: If you compare the USSR and the RSFSR, these are two federations as we have become accustomed to view them, but the point is that the USSR has two special features we need to take into account in concluding both the Union treaty and the federation treaty.

First, this is a union of states, a union. Second, this Union preserves the right of the Union republics to free secession, withdrawal from the Union. These two qualities, two characteristics, in practice, or at any rate from the position of formal rights, make the Union a confederation in a world in which there is a right to free secession of the component parts, that is to say, of its component parts: republics, laender, provinces, and so on. We, the USSR, preserve this right.

Second, as far as the particularites of the RSFSR are concerned, from the point of the RSFSR Constitution, not one republic here, formerly autonomous ones, now simply republics, has this right of free secession from the federation. This is a constitutional right, fixed in the constitutions of both the republics and fixed in the constitution of the RSFSR. In this sense, the RSFSR as a federation is a classic federation, making it like all modern ones.

Nevertheless, there is a certain confederalization of the RSFSR going on. If we do not see the very great danger in this confederalism we might get this great absurdity: that is to say, the RSFSR as a confederation will be a member of a Union federation, and we will end up with a hybrid monster which is fundamentally unviable. This will threaten not only the RSFSR but the whole of the Union with destruction. We need to bear this fact in mind.

Constitutional Court Bill Discussed

LD2505072191 Moscow TASS in English 0707 GMT 25 May 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Boris Zverev]

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—The Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation today began discussing the bill on the constitutional court. The Congress is expected to elect such a court.

Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee for Legislation Sergey Shakhray delivered a report on the issue.

Before today's session, Shakhray told TASS that "heated debates will no doubt break out, as some autonomies disagree with some candidates to the court", proposed by Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

"We will hardly manage to elect all 15 judges at once," Shakhray said, noting that he expected "people not known from the political point of view" to be elected.

In addition, today the Congress is expected to hear reports about the situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia and the work on draft Union and federal treaties.

The congress is scheduled to end in the afternoon.

Shakhray on Constitutional Court

LD2505091391 Moscow TASS in English 0851 GMT 25 May 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—The Constitutional Court will be the "good angel" of the Russian Constitution, Chairman of the Russian parliament's Committee for Legislation Sergey Shakhray said today.

Shakhray delivered a report on the bill on the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation to the Fourth Congress of People's Deputies, working in Moscow for the fifth day.

"If we want the Russian Constitution to work, we should have its protector, alien to self-interest and devotion to parties," Shakhray said. He said the Constitutional Court as part of the already existing legal system, should be such a body.

The bill particularly notes that the Constitutional Court should not replace any other legal bodies. It is forbidden to the Court to discuss any political issues, and this is principally important, he said.

According to Shakhray, the Constitutional Court "embodies pure judicial power, and it is not a somebody's protege or a body of political leadership".

The Court will not have a monopoly to discuss compliance of Russian laws and other legal acts to the Constitution. The Russian Congress of People's Deputies and the Russian parliament will also have the right to control the observance of the Constitution.

Shakhray noted that the bill takes into account the interests of constituent republics of the Russian Federation. The Constitutional Court has no right to discuss the laws of constituent republics, with the exception of cases, when such laws meddle in the competence of the Russian Federation.

Fifteen judges are proposed by the president of the Russian parliament and are elected by the Congress of People's Deputies for indefinite time. The status of a judge is characterised by independence, immunity and irremovability. Judges should act on a personal basis. They cannot represent parties, territories or bodies.

After the report, the Congress began discussing the bill and candidates to the Constitutional Court.

Constitutional Court Bill Rejected

LD2505104191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1000 GMT 25 May 91

[Text] Today Russia's Congress of People's Deputies did not approve the bill on the RSFSR Constitutional Court. Further work will be done on this law and it will be submitted to the following congress for discussion.

The current congress will evidently complete its work today.

A news conference on its results will be held by Russian Supreme Soviet chairman Yeltsin.

Yeltsin Holds News Conference 25 May

LD2605084191 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1928 GMT 25 May 91

[News conference by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, at St George Hall in the Kremlin on 25 May; moderated by Yeltsin's press assistant, Lantseva—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Lantseva] Good evening. We now begin a news conference by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, on the results of the work of the Fourth Congress of People's Deputies. Let's work it so that it lasts no more than an hour, please.

[Yeltsin] That is right.

[Lantseva] So that we do not waste valuable time, let's start with questions. Boris Nikolayevich?

[Yeltsin] Yes, I think that will be fine.

[Lantseva] Please start with your questions.

[Sokolov] Esteemed Boris Nikolayevich, I am Sokolov from the weekly SOBESEDNIK. Very alarming reports are coming from the Baltics at the moment. I would very

much like to hear your comments on the situation and to know what measures the leadership of Russia is taking. Thank you.

[Yeltsin] It looks like the first question is not actually about the congress. We have our subject for today; I think it should be on the results of the congress, the Fourth Congress of People's Deputies, and perhaps on issues connected with the election campaign. Such questions are appropriate at this time, so that we do not have to hold a special news conference or meeting with journalists on that subject.

Nevertheless, since the question has been asaked, I will give the following reply. I have been personally keeping a very close eye on how events there have been developing. They began last night. Late at night I got in touch with all the chairmen of the three republics' Supreme Soviets—Gorbunovs, Landsbergis, and Ruutel. They told me that the alarm had been raised, that some activity involving the Internal Troops was starting, that customs posts had been destroyed somewhere or other on the border. In general, they were in a state of considerable alarm. Today the events have already began to spread somewhat. They asked me to voice my view to the president of the Union. So, late yesterday, late in the evening, I told him my view about what is happening. He called in advisers, saying he wanted fresh information urgently, that he was not familiar with what is happening, that no commands came from the center, from him, or from the Union Ministry of Internal Affairs. He said that this appears to be some kind of local initiative. But he promised to monitor events, to find out at once what is happening, and to give the appropriate instructions to Minister of Internal Affairs Pugo. I expect that over the past 24 hours, his team either was not working last night or perhaps he was unable to get through by telephone. I hope that today that will happen, and I hope that tomorrow will see a stabilization of the situation. If not, then I will be forced to continue with my active interventionist position on this matter.

[Lantseva] Next question, please.

[(ROSTA) reporter] First I would like to congratulate Boris Nikolayevich on the conclusion of [words indistinct].

[Nakhimov] Vadim Nakhimov, International Journalists' Center, REPORTER newspaper.

[(ROSTA) reporter] I want to ask a couple of questions. Galina [name indistinct], (ROSTA) agency.

[Unidentified speaker] We cannot hear you. Speak into a microphone.

[(ROSTA) reporter] Six candidates for the post of president of Russia have been registered. Which one of them [words indistinct]?

[Unidentified voice] We cannot hear you. Speak up.

[Yeltsin] The question is which of the six candidates—there are six candidates—which represents the most difficult for me....

[(ROSTA) reporter, interrupting] Competitive.

[Yeltsin] Competitive. You see, first I have the principle never to speak about candidates in negative ways and generally not to discuss this subject of candidates. I believe that every candidate is entitled to count on victory. He strives to win. I will not offer any preferences. Ryzhkov has strong points and his own position. Bakatin has certain strong points for which he is supported by a somewhat different category of voters. I do not rule out the possibility that at the end some kind of tactical move will be made so that a number of candidates may withdraw, so that one candidate gets more votes against Yeltsin, something like that. I cannot say which of them is stronger. No, that would just be unethical on my part.

[Lantseva] Go ahead, please.

[Nakhimov] Vadim Nakhimov, REPORTER newspaper, International Journalists' Center. Esteemed Boris Nikolayevich, at today's session the congress did not confirm the law on the constitutional court of the RSFSR, which was adopted by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. How far might this fact influence the implementation of the program of reforms announced at the last congress?

[Yeltsin] This will not influence the program of reforms that was announced at all, since, evidently, the congress will meet again for one day, perhaps for two, after the election of the president, since the president will have to be sworn in by the Congress of People's Deputies. On that day, perhaps in June already, the law on the constitutional court will be examined and adopted and the judges of the constitutional court will be elected. This law was adopted taking into account the remarks and amendments handed in by the date set today, those handed in and those to be handed in to the secretariat of the congress and the editorial commission.

I would not consider this a failure of the congress. I would rather say that the demands of the congress and of the deputies were very high. They felt immediately a certain weakness of this law or its certain underdevelopment. They took the right decision by not adopting it or, to put it more precisely, by postponing it—not actually adopting but by postponing the discussion of this issue regarding the constitutional court until the next RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies.

Nevertheless, we managed to adopt a range of issues. We adopted what was on the agenda: the law of the RSFSR on the RSFSR president; amendents and additions to the Constitution, the principal law of the RSFSR; the laws on the president and on local self-government. We had to get two-thirds of the votes on every paragraph of these laws. Frankly speaking, we had great doubts, taking into account the varied views and, I would say, political discordance, about managing to get two-thirds of votes.

Nevertheless, these laws were adopted. Practically all the paragraphs were adopted by two-thirds of the votes.

This shows consolidation at the congress, that this congress differs from the previous congresses by having been more constructive, organized, and, I would say, a more consolidated congress than the previous congresses. This is very important.

The candidates for the RSFSR presidency and the appeal by the Supreme Soviet of the North Ossetian Soviet Socialist Republic were discussed. A statement was adopted on the situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia. Information and reports on the progress in the carrying out of the law on land reform and on the work on the fulfillment of the draft law on the federation treaty and information by Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, on the issues of the implementation of the laws in the agrarian sector of the economy were discussed. A decision announcing that 12 June is to be a holiday, which got applause, was adopted. Organizational issues were discussed. An appeal to the congress by soldiers' mothers was discussed. A special instruction was given to the Supreme Soviet to examine the concrete issues they put forward in their appeal.

The congress, generally speaking, worked on and adopted very important laws in the space of a week. I consider that it passed successfully. In a rare move, yesterday even the president of the country assessed that our congress is, on the whole, going well.

[Lantseva] The right microphone, please.

[Kalugin] Andrey Kalugin, VECHERNEYE ZAVOLZHYE. Boris Nikolayevich, in Svoboda Square in Kazan, 17 people have been holding a hunger strike for a week. They demand that the election for the president of Russia should be abolished on the territory of Tatarstan. Making use of the fact that this news conference will probably be broadcast on the territory of Russia, I would like you to address the hunger strikers. Perhaps your authority will help to calm the passions.

[Yeltsin] Yesterday a meeting of the preparatory committee for the Union treaty took place in Novo-Ogarevo. It included the federation council under the chairmanship of the president. The chairmen and leaders of all republics, including the republics within the Russian Federation, were all present. Practically everybody spoke. The discussion went on for eight hours, until late at night. The discussion was a constructive one and a number of issues were passed. In other words, there was progress yesterday. Well, if not two steps, then at least one step forward was taken toward the signing of the Union treaty. On the whole, we agreed to prepare the treaty for signing in June, after the final version has been discussed by supreme soviets of republics. We will work with this purpose in mind.

When we were discussing the question of a scheme for signing, all—and I had specially asked...[changes thought] I had had a meeting with leaders of supreme soviets of the republics within the Russian Federation. Everybody gave their consent to put their signature where the delegation of the RSFSR will be, and then, in alphabetical order, the republics within the RSFSR. Shamiyev, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Tatarstan, stated his own position, which conflicted with the one I mentioned. He was speaking on the basis of a decision of their Supreme Soviet. I asked him to return to this issue once again, particularly since there had been an appeal from the president of the country, and the opinion of the president of the country is that there should be one principle and all republics within other republics must sign together with their republics. It was suggested that I should continue this dialogue, and I certainly will. Shamiyev and I agreed that we are going to meet again, perhaps later, with a group of deputies of the Tatarstan Supreme Soviet, in order to discuss this problem, because if they sign separately, outside the RSFSR, then other republics would not sign the Union treaty.

In other words, that could lead to an impasse. Therefore, we need to get out of that impasse, to find solutions. I think that there will, of course, be such talks. I pin very great hopes upon the sense of the Supreme Soviet of Tatarstan and its leadership.

[Lantseva] The microphone to the right please.

[MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA reporter] MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA [words indistinct]. [passage omitted] Doesn't it seem to you that another trend arose during the congress—for the Democratic Russia Movement to influence more and more actively the adoption of legislative acts and state decisions in the RSFSR? Don't you think that, should you win the forthcoming presidential elections, power will simply be transferred from the CPSU structures to the Democratic Russia structures?

[Yeltsin] I don't think that this threatens the CPSU at all yet, since no party or movement can compete with it in size, rather with the Russian Communist Party. Well, therefore, so far your apprehensions are at least premature. And I think that, so to speak, there is a real multiparty system when parties really express their political point of view on a par, as it were. I only welcome such an approach. One should not take some kind of one-sided position. That is why I am not a party member.

[Lantseva] Boris Nikolayevich, this topic is probably close to you and me now. Grigoriy Kroshin from KROKODIL has sent a note. The congress did not support the idea of removing the party status [departizatsiya] from the president of Russia. What danger is that fraught with, in your opinion? Thank you.

[Yeltsin] It depends whom they elect. It does not hold any danger for me at all, because I am not a party member. But I think, perhaps, that the Supreme Soviet may return to that question yet.

["Vesti" reporter] [name indistinct] Russian television, "Vesti." Boris Nikolayevich, could you go back to the meeting in Novo-Ogarevo and say what problems, apart

from the question of Tatarstan, remain on the road to the signing of the Union treaty, and is the document ready for signing?

[Yeltsin] Are there problems left that we discussed?

["Vesti" reporter] The ones that are left. [passage omitted]

[Yeltsin] Of course, I can not go through the whole list, but the main things are problems as to what will enter into, in the classic formula, the federal state. For example, a two-channel tax. Opinions on this are divided, because several republics, including the Russian Supreme Soviet adopted a law on the taxation system and did not provide for a channel for Union taxation. They provided for enterprises...[changes thought] that this tax should go through the Russian bank, and only then, once we have collected it all, will we pay into the Union budget according to our estimations; for example, this year, say 23,400 billion rubles instead of the 70,000 which used to be paid over annually in past years.

Then again, they want to go back to all enterprises paying their tax directly into the Union. That is to say, one tax goes along the Union channel, and the other tax is a Russian one. We must discuss this again at the Supreme Soviet, since we have adopted a law. This is a problem, and not a simple problem. The Ukraine said that it cannot do it now, and some others did too.

There is also the question of the division of functions and property. The question arose about the fact that, according to our declaration, our decision adopted at the first congress, enterprises of the [word indistinct] defense industry have to come under Russia's jurisdiction.

It is proposed here that they remain Union, so to speak, Union property. We do not agree with this.

Next, let's say, it was proposed that everything which is connected with oil and gas be left as Union property. We do not agree with this because it is the property of the peoples on the territories on which these enterprises, this mineral wealth, and these reserves, lie. It is the property of those people, and the Union should dispose of that property, not the center.

Next, well, I have already said that there is still a problem regarding the form of signing. It has not yet been decided finally, so to speak, although it has been decided with all other republics. Let's say, the Crimean Republic is part of the Ukraine, and it has said clearly that it will sign, well, under the Ukraine, for the Ukraine, the Ukraine, and well, later, the Crimean Republic. So, let's say, well, Abkhazia is another matter. Georgia won't sign, but Abkhazia signs. Well, the situation is more complex there. Well, that problem exists.

Next, I would not say that the decision with regard to the name of the Union treaty and the name of the Union was adopted unanimously, although the majority agreed that the treaty be called: of the Union—a treaty of the union of sovereign states; and, the Union should be called, as if by succession, the USSR. But it would be broken down as follows: The Union of Sovereign Soviet Republics, thus removing the word socialist. The majority are in favor, but not all the leaders of the supreme soviets have yet supported such a point of view.

The question of quantitative regulation is next, if there is a bicameral parliament: The question is very complex, and several versions were examined there as to what the parliament, let's say, of the republic, and, or rather, of the Soviet of the Republic and the Soviet of Nationalities, should be like. A new Union constitution should already exist as a basis for this treaty. There were interesting proposals put forward by the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Karelian Republic to the effect that all republics should have an equal quota in the Soviet of the Union, perhaps like the Union parliament. And, well, it is envisaged that the Soviet of the Nationalities be completely different, not as it is now, but also from the republics; let's say every republic has 11 seats there, for instance. But there must be representation of all nations and peoples. Even if an ethnic group does not have its own statehood. The Volga Germans, for instance—we have 2 million of them in the country, including 1 million in the Russian Federation. They too should have a quota. They too should have representatives in the Soviet of Nationalities. This is an interesting proposal, and we agreed that these variants should be examined in detail and discussed at the next sitting.

I've already told you that we agreed to summarize these comments and to draw up a sort of unified document, then to meet again to discuss it and come to agreement in the Council of the Federation, and only after this to submit it for review to the supreme soviets of all the republics. After it has been reviewed, then it is to be brought together in one document, which is to be prepared for signing. That is the process we have to go through; it is under way. When people say that someone is putting a brake on things, and that it's the Russian Federation, that is not so. We are going along with the current, as the saying goes: We are not running on ahead, of course, but we're not lagging behind, either.

[(Potnikov)] [words indistinct], (Vitaliy Potnikov). Esteemed Boris Nikolayevich, how do you assess the current degree of agreement and disagreement between the USSR president and the leaders of the Union republics and the leaders of the autonomous formations? Is there in the Soviet of the Federation some sort of group of leaders which is closest to you in terms of views of the future structure of the Union? In this connection, has the idea of a tripartite or quinpartite treaty, which was the subject of so much discussion earlier, been abandoned? Thank you.

[Yeltsin] I will say that yesterday's constructive discussion was helped precisely by the fact that five republics had already reached 99 percent agreement on the Union treaty: Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Belorussia, Uzbekistan. This did indeed help progress yesterday. We remain with these positions, and it is in this respect that we are closest to one another, so to speak, and we

maintain constant contacts, taking account of the fact that we have bilateral treaties with them. I will not talk about the republics and the autonomous formations now, because the congress adopted the decision that we have no autonomous republics; we have republics. Therefore, among the republics which make up the Russian Federation, in principle there were perhaps no disagreements, except for the plan for signing.

Perhaps just this one issue. Well, perhaps on taxes, too. They are more inclined to take the stance which was voiced by the president, regarding a two-channel taxation system. But I said that we have a law that was passed by the Supreme Soviet, and so, only the Supreme Soviet can rescind its decision, or make another decision. Regarding the five separately—well, how can I put it? This was a reserve option. If the Union treaty hadn't gone ahead, if it had encountered some obstacles that would have been difficult to overcome, then we would have taken this road, we would have concluded a treaty with the five republics.

[AP correspondent] Wendy [name indistinct], U.S. Associated Press agency. Esteemed Boris Nikolayevich. Representatives from your press service have told us that you have invited only Soviet correspondents to accompany you in the aircraft during your election campaign. Won't you also permit foreign correspondents to accompany you?

[Yeltsin] I didn't know that only Soviet journalists had been invited. I don't think that there are actually so many Soviet journalists, I understand that....

[Lantseva interrupts] On the trips, Boris Nikolayevich.

[AP correspondent] That's what they told us, that only Soviet correspondents will go on the aircraft.

[Yeltsin] Well, I don't like large escorts in general. I just don't like it; they're supposed to be working trips, after all. They differ in this from election campaign trips. This is not an election campaign trip. I would ask you to bear in mind that this is entirely a business trip, to the regions and oblasts I haven't yet visited, where I have been invited on several occasions, where there are problems, and where we have already even prepared certain decisions, decisions we have to discuss and make in the locality. So, on these trips the main task is the job in hand, and then, secondly, when you have contacts, meetings with voters, of course; it's like an election campaign.

[(Kazbanenko)] Boris Nikolayevich. SELSKAYA MOLODEZH, (Viktor Kazbanenko). Why didn't you support any of your rivals in the election marathon in shifting the schedule for the elections? And if you aren't elected, do you intend to continue to hold the post of chairman of the Supreme Soviet? Thank you.

[Yeltsin] I did not support them because I respect the law, the law adopted by the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies. The congress adopted the decision to hold the elections on 12 June. I respect the congress' decision. I am altogether against, you understand, changing the decision every month. I think that presidential candidate Zhirinovskiy, considering his energy, will have enough time to travel all over Russia. [laughter in hall]

[(Serov)] (Serov) SIBIRSKAYA GAZETA. Boris Nikolayevich, be so good as to tell us your views on the problem of the four islands, which was not solved during Gorbachev's recent visit to Japan. I think that this would be of interest to the electorate, particularly of the Far East.

[Yeltsin] I have answered this question so many times that I think journalists throughout the world already know of my position on the Kuril Islands. I gave it to the president, too, prior to his visit. But if you would like me to repeat it in a very sketchy and brief way, I consider that it is possible to approach some kind of decision to this problem in five stages. The first stage is for our country to acknowledge officially that such a problem exists. This first stage will indeed be passed when the president of the country has acknowledged that, yes, the problem exists.

The second stage is to declare the Kurils a free economic zone in order that the Japanese side may work there freely, precisely in conditions of a free economic zone. The third stage is the demilitarization of the islands; in other words, the withdrawal from there of all military bases. The fourth stage is the signing with Russia of a direct treaty with Japan, irrespective of a final decision to the problem of these islands. The Japanese side, when I was with the prime minister in Japan, was in agreement with such a situation. And the fifth and last stage, which will be possible in about 15-20 years' time, when I think wiser leaders will have arrived in both our country and in Japan: It is possible, taking into consideration the changing situation in the world, that they will have completely unique and original proposals for a final solution to this problem.

[Lantseva] Go ahead, please.

[Unidentified correspondent] Boris Nikolayevich, you didn't answer the question of the person in front of me about what you would do if you were not elected president. Allow me to ask my own question. My question is about the federal treaty. What is its fate at the moment, how will it be signed, and roughly when? Also, will it preserve or enshrine the principle of delegating rights from the subjects of the federation to the federal center, and will Russia participate in the federal treaty as an independent subject? And if it does participate, who will sign for Russia?

[Yeltsin] My failure to reply to the second part of the correspondent's question about whether I would remain as chairman if I am not elected was not deliberate. The answer is no.

As for your other question about the federal treaty, work on it is under way. It has already been considered on a number of occasions in the republican Federation Council and the Soviet of Nationalities of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, but it is still in a rather raw state. We'd

like to sign it a little earlier than the Union treaty, although it does not make a very fundamental difference. But that's what we'd like. From what I hear, I think we will succeed. All will be subjects of the federation, or rather the treaty: The republics and the krays and oblasts. And all will be signing the treaty. I mean all. Not separately for every republic or oblast: It will be a common federal treaty, and these subjects of the federation will be handing over their functions to the Russian Federation, the Russian center, as it were, and this will be reflected in this federal treaty.

[Lantseva] Left microphone, please.

[NEVSKOYE VREMYA correspondent] Leningrad, NEVSKOYE VREMYA. Boris Nikolayevich, will you be going on the campaign trail around the country together with the vice president [vice-presidential candidate], or will he be traveling independently? And second, could you give us some more details of the route, what oblasts and towns you plan to visit?

[Yeltsin] We are going to travel different routes, not only as far as the vice-presidential candidate is concerned, but this also includes the chairman of the Russian Federation's Council of Ministers, so that we can cover the greatest possible territory, so to speak. That is why Silayev and Rutskoy will be traveling around, too.

My route is as follows: Murmansk, Sveromorsk, Petrozavodsk, Voronezh, Tula, Perm, Chelyabinsk, Orenburg, Sverdlovsk, and back here to Moscow twice, for half a day, the first time to participate in the "Who is Who?" program, and the second time to give an interview on our Russian Television before the elections. I will return to Moscow just before the elections, probably on the 11th—10th or 11th.

[(Parkhomenko)] (Sergey Parkhomenko), NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA. This week the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a decision devoted to the work on the Union Treaty, in which it demanded the right to voice its views on its preparation. To my mind, it spoke quite decisively against the accords that were reached in Novo Ogarevo. What is your attitude toward this, and how do you explain this position of the USSR Supreme Soviet?

[Yeltsin] Yesterday, this position was explained by Lukyanov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, and yesterday many of the participants in the meeting expressed their indignation at such a decision. But he called it a recommendational decision. Well, that's exactly how we are going to treat it.

[(Tyurmen)] (Tyurmen) Moscow Union of Journalists. You have for the most part listed towns in the European part of the country in your electoral program, while an enormous region like Siberia seems to have been overlooked. There are a million voters there, and, Boris Nikolayevich, the might of Russia has always laid in Siberia. Do you intend to extend your program and return to any towns in Siberia?

[Yeltsin] The fact of the matter is that I have already carried out a 23-day visit exclusively around Siberia and the Far East. But Russia is huge. You know, even with all my pretty good physical, so to speak, capabilities of getting around, I cannot cover everything at once. Incidentally, I forgot to say that in one of these breaks I will probably make a visit to Bryansk, bearing in mind the Chernobyl situation.

[Lantseva] Boris Nikolayevich, I have a note here: Esteemed Boris Nikolayevich. You have been to Yaroslavl, you promised to help the people over the food situation. Is it worth supporting the Russian peasant, and shouldn't the state be feeding the people, and not the other way around? (Dmitriy Prokofyev), Yaroslavl.

[Yeltsin] Well, it's not that I have helped them so much that they should have immediately formed illusions. They must feed themselves. That goes for the town population, too. Incidentally, the farming economy is not doing badly there. And, in Russia as a whole, at the moment, about 23,000 private farms have been set up. We calculated that there would be about 10,000 over that period of time.

[Lantseva] Your question, please.

[Questioner] The newspaper of the Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers of the Yakut-Sakha Soviet Socialist Republic. Boris Nikolayevich, the autonomous republics and former autonomous republics that have obtained sovereignty are very worried about the fate of their sovereignty, and they link this with your name. How do you view this?

[Yeltsin] I believe that at the congress, on this very act, we acknowledged officially that these are nonautonomous republics—that was the first act of acknowledgment; and in the federal treaty the acknowledgment of the sovereignty of all the republics which have been, as it were, accepted, will be clearly stated. This will be the form. But, in essence, we are already carrying out work, including with the Yakut Republic, on the implementation of this sovereignty question.

[(Polekovarov)] (Polekovarov), GAZETA DLYA VSEKH. First, a bit of information. You have missed our microphone on two occasions. Boris Nikolayevich, in recent weeks there has been a noticeable abatement in the confrontation between the two leaders, Gorbachev and Yeltsin. How can you explain this phenomenon? Have there been any, so to speak, personal moves by the leaders here, or is this perhaps somehow connected with our situation moving in such a direction, or have there been some attempts to do so? Thank you.

[Yeltsin] There are signs of both the one and the other. The fact is, if you have been following the situation since January... [pauses] January, February, March, these were the most serious, the most dismal months from the point of view of the political situation, and from the point of view that the rightwing forces consolidated their forces; they began an offensive, and that was not for nothing

that it was precisely at that time that Shevardnadze said that a dictatorship was possible. These forces of the right pulled the country's president along in their direction. That was why at the time, you recall, I was even forced to make a statement about resignation, in order to give a warning that under no circumstances would we turn back from the road that we had embarked upon for the democratization and renewal of our society; at least Russia would not, we would not turn back. He undestood this. Then this was helped by the democratic movement which, after its initial confusion, began to consolidate and unify its forces, and that helped a great deal in respect of holding back the right's offensive. At that moment the president, too, understood that he also had to lean on the left shoulder, otherwise he would lose. This consideration made the 23 April meeting possible, after which a warmer spell began, since in many respects he agreed with our point of view.

First, he officially spoke—it is in the statement—about the recognition of sovereignty. For 11 months he had been talking about a parade of sovereignties, that is, in a kind of contemptuous form, but here we had it officially signed that the states' sovereignty was recognized. Second, the right of the general licensing of production for export was transferred to the republics. Third, the process of separating functions and property was set in motion, and a special mixed commission of the Union Cabinet of Ministers, led by Doguzhiyev, and Russia's Council of Ministers, led by Skokov, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, was set up, and now the process of the transfer of industries and enterprises to Russia's jurisdiction is proceeding very actively—the coal industry, the forestry and timber industry, the chemical and petrochemical industry, the majority of the largest metallurgical combines, and so on and so forth—this process in under way.

Therefore, we have somehow or another moved toward a rapprochement of our positions, and now the atmosphere is businesslike. Yesterday, in eight hours, we did not once say anything unpleasant to each other; this is an exceptional occurence. Incidentally, I received your note and I will try to react to it. An instruction has been given to Poltoranin to help with the problems which have arisen for you.

[Mironov] My problem concerns the Moscow City Soviet and the election of the first mayor in the history of Moscow. Boris Nikolayevich, you know that at the moment the situation in the Moscow City Soviet is very tense, and not only a Russian president is being elected for the first time, but the mayor of Moscow. What is our attitude to Gavril Kharitonovich Popov personally, and, as a Moscow voter, would you vote for him?

[Yeltsin] My position is that there are only two people: Popov, and Luzhkov as vice president, and at the request of the chairpeople of the rayon soviets—I met with them in the rayon soviets of Moscow and we discussed this question, and they too expressed just the same opinion, but Gavril Kharitonovich has said several times that he might withdraw his candidacy. There was that problem, too. We also discussed what should be done were he to suddenly stand down, and the next candidate would be Luzhkov.

[Unidentified correspondent] I am worried about the issue as to whether there is any sense of the need to set up a central independence press of the 31 autonomous entities, in particular, to set up newspapers.

[Yeltsin] On the whole, I believe that there should be no planning at all of this nature. According to the law on the press and media, every organizaiton, and even more so, every republic, should be able to have more than one newspaper. In the United States, a state will have several dozen newspapers. In our country, on the other hand, we are starved of information. So if the weekly VOSTOK ROSSII has now been published—the first edition is due in the next few days, I think—we should be only too glad that we are gradually doing something about this information famine as far away as Siberia.

[Same correspondent] I meant the central press.

[Yeltsin] My view is that there shouldn't be any restrictions. Independence and truth are another matter. I think we are very short of these at the moment. The party media are excessively politicized, and toe the line—instructions not to vote for Yeltsin have gone out from the party, and this line is being peddled everywhere, and all the time. Don't vote for Yeltsin! All Communists to arms—don't vote for Yeltsin!

[Unidentified correspondent] Boris Nikolayevich, recently, two political tendencies have clearly emerged. The first is political accord and further progress toward radical reforms and democratization. At the same time, drastically opposed forces are openly entering the arena. I am convinced that the events in the Baltic region are no coincidence, and there are even candidates in Russia who overtly say that everything should practically be returned to the old system. How strong do you think these forces of counteraction are, and what do you, as chairman of the Supreme Soviet, and future president if you are elected, intend to do to prevent a reversal?

[Yeltsin] I am doing everything now to prevent a reversal, and Russia is on no account going back, despite the attempts that are in fact being made by certain forces to halt this progress toward radical reforms and renewal, and the revival of Russia. The view I am forming is that the correlation of forces is now changing a little bit to the disadvantage of these conservative-minded forces. In fact, the democratic forces are now gathering momentum, as it were—they have become better organized. And I think that in future the process will go in precisely that direction. Therefore, it seems to me that the danger is lessening now with time. Hence there is agreement, after all. The agreement which has come through now is also a result of the change in the balance, and of the fact that democratic forces really do have a considerable weight in the republic and in the country.

[LA STAMPA correspondent] LA STAMPA newspaper, Italy. Could you tell me please, is there some kind of agreement between you and Gorbachev behind Grigoriy Yavlinskiy's mission to Boston? [passage omitted]

[Yeltsin] I understood. Yes, yes, of course, there is such an accord with Gorbachev, and with Yavlinskiy, to try to carry out this operation. When Yavlinskiy was reporting at a conference of economic experts of the Group of Seven, he aroused interest in the program and the approach. His proposal that they join in the development of a joint program for coming out of the crisis, for stabilization of the economy, and for the transfer to a market economy, since the catclysm—if there is no such reform in our country—will, all in all, rock every country in the world, including the United States. Everyone understands that. That's why they expressed great, I'd say, curiosity, attention, since it is backed by certain financial injections, and if there is a joint program between them and us, then they are pragmatists, and like to invest in specific business, in specific programs. They have already put much into our country, and given many credits, but all this has been done in a general way, and it is not clear what this money has been used for. But when there is a concrete program, and when it can be monitored by the international community, then it could be resolved more quickly: It concerns $15-20 billion. Therefore, this process is now under way, is under discussion, but there is no absolute certainty about how it will end, but in general it would be interesting if there was such a program.

[Lantseva, reading question] Boris Nikolayevich, the "Vremya" program has reported that Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov has collected 3 million signatures, while you collected 1.5 million. Has this had a moral effect on you?

[Yeltsin] No, no, because, as I know, voters who support me did not answer the summons to collect signatures.

[DELOVAYA ROSSIYA correspondent] DELOVAYA ROSSIYA newspaper. Boris Nikolayevich, tell us please, should you become president, could the citizens be assured that there would be no behind-the-scenes decisions which would come as a shock to almost everyone the following day? You understand what I am talking about—about all types of monetary reform which the people learned about two hours before they were to exchange their money and so on. Will some sort of institution be set up to protect openness—do you understand what I mean?

[Yeltsin] Do you mean on the part of the Union, or on the part of the new Russian president?

[Same correspondent] Russia.

[Yeltsin] I will of course try not to repeat the mistakes of the Union president. In this respect I can say that there will be openness, so that people know provisionally what is happening, and then decrees would be signed, ensuring they could not then be abrogated. Yesterday, I appealed to the president to rescind the hard currency law, under which 40 percent of hard currency is taken from enterprises and no one knows where it goes—into some sort of centralized fund—while our enterprises, particularly textile and light industry enterprises, are simply in a state of crisis. Yesterday I was obliged to issue special measures, using the arrangement for the division of power: among bodies, and the right to adopt such measures at the level of Supreme Soviet resolutions. Yesterday, I issued such a measure granting special assistance to textile and light industry enterprises, otherwise they would have failed completely, and many are having to halt operating. I am a supporter of doing such things openly, and what is most important, for people's benefit.

[KRASNODARSKIYE IZVESTIYA correspondent] Boris Nikolayevich, you have just met with the Cossacks. What were the results of this meeting, and why were there no Kuban Cossacks there? The newspaper KRASNODARSKIYE IZVESTIYA.

[Yeltsin] Who was there and who wasn't there is their business. They themselves decided who would come, so I paid no particular attention to that. They said there would be 12 people, and 12 people came. The meeting was an interesting one. They are concerned about the destiny of the Cossacks. I gave my own point of view, and that was, first, I support the Cossacks as a sociopolitical movement. That's number one. Second, that I will now be taking measures so that where there have been individual cases of acts of hooliganism, and even crimes, the RSFSR Ministry of Internal Affairs would take urgent measures, seek out the culprits, and accordingly bring them to trial. Third, in accordance with the Supreme Soviet's instruction, the procedure for the preparation of a law on the Cossacks has been agreed upon. A special commission is to be set up from among the Cossacks, in which there will be a chairman, and this commission, together with our Supreme Soviet committees, will prepare a draft law on the Cossacks and on the complete rehabilitation of the Cossacks. This will be presented for examination at the autumn session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. The meeting lasted—although there wasn't much time—for about 50 minues, but it was sufficient as there was such mutual, unanimous understanding.

[Lantseva] I declare the next question to be the penultimate one. If you please.

[SLOVO MOLODEZHIY correspondent] SLOVO MOLODEZHIY, Ulyanovsk. Boris Nikolayevich, which approach to the removal of state supervision of the economy is closer to you—the Yavlinskiy plan or the Maley plan? Also, do you consider that if the Supreme Soviet dismisses outright the handing over of state ownership to the working people, it would alienate the democratic movement and a considerable section of the working class and the intelligentsia?

[Yeltsin] I believe that we will adjust this law in the second reading, in the context that we must approach it in a differentiated manner, and have all forms of privatization, including the handover of a section, free of charge. I am a proponent of such an approach.

[Lantseva] Boris Nikolayevich, now permit me to wind up with this question from (Manvilov), an AMURBAM-PRESS correspondent. Will 12 June be declared Russian Independence Day, and perhaps the times of celebration of other political dates be reduced to a minimum?

[Yeltsin] From today, 12 June, by decision of the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies, has been declared the day of the declaration of Russia's sovereignty, and a non-working day. But, as far as finding a one-day holiday and making it a working day is concerned, we will have to think about it. But 12 June will be a nonworking day. Seven or 8 November might be one day. We'll have to find a day somewhere.

[Lantseva] Thank you, Boris Nikolayevich.

[Yeltsin] Thank you all, all the best. Goodbye.

Yeltsin Order on Textile, Light Industry Reform

LD2505112791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1000 GMT 25 May 91

[Text] Our news department has received the text of an order issued by the chairman of Russia's Supreme Soviet on urgent measures to normalize the work of enterprises of the republic's textile and light industry.

In accordance with this document, from 1 August the establishment of quotas and the issue of licences are to be introduced for the export delivery of raw and other materials being used in these industries.

Before 1 September, a state order is to be issued for the delivery of individual types of resources and products.

Henceforth, all profit flowing from the increase in the production of textile and light industry goods remains at the disposal of enterprises. Enterprises are granted the right to increase expenditures on wages. A number of other measures are also envisaged.

Tomorrow this document will be published in the press.

Ryzhkov: Original Perestroyka Not Implemented

LD2505102191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1909 GMT 24 May 91

[Text] Smolensk, 24 May (TASS)—Nikolay Ryzhkov, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic presidential candidate, arrived today in this oblast center in Russia and visited a plant making automatic units and a poultry farm. He met leaders of party and Soviet bodies, attended a ceremonial soiree devoted to the opening of the Festival of Slavonic Literature and Culture, and laid flowers at the monument to V.I. Lenin.

In speeches to the voters, the candidate expounded the main points of his electoral program.

"I shall champion the interests of Russia and will never oppose the destruction of the Union of Soviet Republics," he said. "One must honestly tell the people that perestroyka in the form in which it was originally conceived has not taken place."

The main thrust of the candidate's electoral platform is to get the country out of its economic and political crisis as quickly as possible. In order to do this, it is essential to adopt urgent measures and halt the fall in the level of production of industrial goods and increase the production of consumer goods and foodstuffs. While material resources are in short supply, the country will never be wealthy. The presidential candidate is a staunch opponent of the "shock therapy" method of effecting change in the economy and the social structure; he is in favor of the gradual introduction of market relations. In his view, a sharp transition to the market and a badly thought out system of privatizing state enterprises could give rise to a high level of unemployment. The former chairman of the Council of Ministers considers that the country's government made a serious blunder in regulating the system of price formation. In his view, the prices of many foodstuffs and children's goods should be regulated by the state; otherwise, a fall in the birthrate will ensue. He stands firmly against the introduction of free prices in Russia. This affects young people, pensioners, and families on low income most seriously of all. The agrarian issue and the relations between collective farms and private ownership, and the army and the state occupy a significant place in his program.

Presidential Hopeful Bakatin Briefs Press

PM2705095591 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 May 91 First Edition p 2

["Toward the Presidential Election" report by A. Gamov: "To Ensure Social Protection. News Conference of V. Bakatin and R. Abdulatipov"]

[Text] "I would like to say quite unequivocally that I am motivated by awareness of my responsibility and by the belief that I can benefit Russia at this difficult time of tribulations." With this statement V.V. Bakatin, candidate for the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] presidency, began his 22 May news conference at the Central House of Journalists.

Answering a question about how to raise people's living standards, the aspirant pointed out: This can be done by going over to a market economy. It would be dishonest to promise, V.V. Bakatin remarked, that the way out of the crisis will be simple and quick. The truth is that there are no quick and easy solutions to our problems. Do not expect any sensationalism from me now. My credo—I have stated it many times and remain devoted to it—is common sense, for which sensationalism, populism, the giving of unrealizable promises, and a penchant for empty, hare-brained schemes are, in principle, contraindicated.

This position was also reflected in the presidential candidate's election platform, on which he briefed the people gathered there. It points out, in particular: The chief principle the candidate intends to uphold and the basic substance of the policy he intends to implement

consist in achieving concord founded on the openness and honesty of power. V.V. Bakatin emphasized that he is ready to cooperate with any parties and any workers', peasant, and other movements, only not for the purpose of refuting any dogmas or old or new "isms"—which are of interest to virtually no one today—but for the purpose of constructive cooperation, above all in questions of enhancing economic efficiency. In the candidate's opinion, the president of Russia must be president of all Russians, regardless of who they voted for and how they voted. He must be deprived of the right to have ideological sympathies or antipathies.

Noteworthy in this connection is V.V. Bakatin's intention, if elected to the presidency, to promote in every possible way the active realization of the statement signed by the leaders of nine republics and the president of the Union. "We must really go over to a regime of strict economy," V.V. Bakatin declared. "We talk a lot about this and call for it a lot, but we do practically nothing at either the Union or the Russian level. I hope to be able to instill order here."

Answering a question about how he views the measures being taken by the new Cabinet of Ministers to extricate the country from the crisis, the RSFSR presidential candidate said: "It is possible to agree with the anticrisis program drawn up and agree with the governments of all the republics and Russia, which, it seems to me, has played and always will play an important role here, but with the exception of two fundamental questions. Again, in this program, measures of social protection, which must precede economic measures, proceed in tandem, as it were, rather than going in front. This approach must be ended once and for all. The bitter experience of the price hike must at least teach us something. Today man has once again been thrown into chaos.... We have arrived at real inattention toward people. This is a new humiliation.... The government must, above all, help to organize the working people's social self-protection, without which any market economy is simply inconceivable."

Touching on the problems of agriculture, V.V. Bakatin said: "How long can we torment the peasant by saying that we are helping him? We must simply give him the opportunity to work normally. It is necessary to create an economic mechanism whereby increased production would be identically advantageous both on the collective farm and in both the private and the state sector. All those who wish to cultivate land and who—and this is of no small importance—know how to cultivate it, should have land transferred to them for their eternal use or leased to them."

In the view of the RSFSR presidential candidate, absolute overall priority must be given to the chief areas—upbringing and education. True, he never did develop this part of his program: How, with what funds is it possible to resolve this task?

Probably the most interesting aspect of V.V. Bakatin's platform is his intention to return to the problem of housing.

In setting forth his election program V.V. Bakatin unexpectedly said: "There is no need to be worried about women!" He made the following comment on these "seditious words" of his: "In our country a woman is the object of politics. We are constantly rescuing her from somewhere, all the time intending to do something for her, and tackling the women's question, so to speak. But the woman must at last become the subject of politics! She herself has the right to decide her destiny. Without women politics are lopsided."

Practically all the candidates, to judge by their platforms, agree that observance of human rights must be the core of the activity of the president of Russia and of all the structures of presidential and state power. V.V. Bakatin believes that the president of Russia will have to advocate that the leaders of all the republics sign as quickly as possible a declaration guaranteeing the safety of anyone, regardless of nationality, on any territory. It is also necessary to create a system of nonparliamentary committees for the defense of human rights.

In recent days the following thought has been pushed persistently in certain mass media: "Democratic forces" are said to be mounting a campaign in support of Yeltsin, and Communists have "thrown their nomenklatura weight" behind Ryzhkov, so on whom can Bakatin count? Commenting on this thesis, the presidential candidate said: "I am not counting on those who stand around all day with a placard reading: 'Put the Communists up against a wall and shoot them!' Not even on those who foam at the mouth trying to demonstrate the charms of poverty in the name of preserving some principles. I am counting on the undoubted majority of Russians who work, study, raise children, stand in lines, and are concerned about the family, Russia, and its present and future. All the same, this is already strongly refuted, but I consider myself an independent candidate. I have already felt the resistance which I will have to overcome on the way to the goal, but I have no intention of deviating from the goal."

Journalists' questions were also answered by R.G. Abdulatipov, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, who was present at the news conference and whom, as is known, V.V. Bakatin has named as his candidate for the post of RSFSR vice president. Supporting the Russian presidential candidate's thesis on the need to achieve concord in society, he pointed out in particular that consolidation and compromise will be possible only if the creative energy of every individual and of the entire peoples inhabiting the Russian Federation is emancipated.

Caucasus

Gamsakhurdia Elected President of Georgia

LD2705123791 Moscow TASS in English 1202 GMT 27 May 91

[Text] Moscow May 27 TASS—Zviad Gamsakhurdiya, 52, leader of the "Roundtable-free Georgia" political

bloc, won a landslide victory capturing 86.5 per cent of the republican vote during the presidential elections held in Georgia on Sunday, the SAKINFORM news agency reports today, referring to preliminary data from the Central Election Commission.

Of the 3.5 million registered voters, 82.5 per cent went to the polls.

Elections were not held in the city of Tkvarcheli on the territory of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic and in the city of Tskhinvali and the Dzhava District, which were previously parts of the autonomous region South Ossetia, the agency reports.

Valerian Advadzen board chairman of the Georgian Union of National Concord and Revival, collected 7.6 per cent of the vote.

Leader of the Independent Georgian Communist Party Dzhemal Mikeladze won 1.6 per cent, and board chairman of the Georgian People's Front Nodar Natadze—1.2 per cent of the vote.

Only 0.9 per cent of the electorate supported Irakli Shengelaya, president of the "Free Opinion" intellectual association and 0.3 per cent—Tamaz Kvachantiradze, editor-in-chief of the BALAVERI (SOURCES) magazine.

According to foreign observers, there were no serious violations during election day, SAKINFORM reports.

Holds News Conference

LD2805034491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1601 GMT 27 May 91

[By TASS special correspondent Igor Gvritishvili]

[Excerpts] Tbilisi, 26 May (TASS)—Zviad Gamsakhurdiya, leader of the "roundtable-free Georgia" political bloc, which is ruling in the republic, will become the first president of Georgia to be elected by a direct secret ballot on an choice basis. [passage omitted]

"The strengthening of relations with Western countries and stabilization of the local economy" are two top priority areas of activity for Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdiya, newly elected to this post.

Replying today to journalists' questions at his first news conference since his election, the head of the republic stated that he will "fight for the restoration of Georgian independence with doubled energy." Moreover, in his words, he will work toward the creation of an "anti-imperial forum of the six republics striving for secession from the USSR."

Commenting on the results of the election, experts are unanimous in noting that Zviad Gamsakhurdiya's unqualified victory was assisted by the population's recognition of him as the only leader capable of consolidating the idea of restoring Georgia's independence, witnessed by the successfully accomplished election campaign and by the full control of all the mass media wielded by the political bloc "roundtable-Free Georgia," which he heads. Not one of the other contenders presented any serious alternative political program.

Zviad Gamsakhurdiya admitted to journalists that he is apprehensive of "terrorist acts on the part of the radical opposition from the National Congress, including against his children, who for this reason are not attending school."

As a TASS correspondent was told today by foreign correspondents in an unofficial conversation, during a news conference arranged for them yesterday, Zviad Gamsakhurdiya had elected from the hall the representative of "Radio Free Europe" in Tbilisi, accusing him of falsifying events in Georgia.

Views Ties With Israel, Moscow

TA2705151691 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1215 GMT 27 May 91

[Telephone interview with Soviet Georgian President Gamsakhurdiya on 27 May by Gid'on Remez on the "Foreign Affairs Program"; Gamsakhurdiya's remarks in English, Remez providing passage-by-passage translation into Hebrew—recorded]

[Text] [Remez] Congratulations on your election.

[Gamsakhurdiya] Thank you.

[Remez] During the election campaign you declared that the system of direct voting for the post of president of the Georgian Republic, the first of its kind in the Soviet Union, was actually meant to strengthen your claims for full independence. What practical steps will you take now?

[Gamsakhurdiya] My first steps will be in the direction of contacts with foreign states and diplomatic recognition of Georgia and more political and economic ties, strengthening these ties, because it is necessary for Georgia.

[Remez] Is Israel also on the list for impending ties?

[Gamsakhurdiya] Yes, with Israel first of all, because we have great traditions of friendship with Israel. For 26 centuries Israeli people were in Georgia and lived here, and we have many friends in Israel. So we want to have official good contacts with Israel.

[Remez] Will you come out with your own initiatives to achieve that?

[Gamsakhurdiya] Yes, we will try. We want to have some official visits with this country.

[Remez] What about ties with the Soviet Union? Yesterday the republics that reject the newly proposed treaty of union held consultations in Kishinev, the capital of Moldavia. Did the Georgian Republic also take part? Of course, President Gamsakhurdiya asserts that the Georgian Republic has no intention of signing that treaty. Was any united plan of action decided upon in Kishinev?

[Gamsakhurdiya] Yes, of course. We must make closer contacts and closer relations with these six republics which have not joined.

[Remez] How will Moscow react? After all, there are significant numbers of Army and Interior Ministry troops in Soviet Georgia.

[Gamsakhurdiya] Yes, but the Soviet Government announced that the Soviet Union will consist of nine republics and the other six republics will be as foreign countries—and they will recognize them as foreign countries, and this is good for us.

[Remez] Do you believe in this, I asked him? Yes, he replied. I remarked that the Soviet troops had not just idly sat by in Soviet Georgia but had, in recent months, used force, in conjunction with the republic's minorities, especially the Muslims, such as the Ossetians, who fought the Georgian militias and even attempted to cut themselves off from Soviet Georgia and be reintegrated into the Soviet Union. I asked him whether the fighting was still going on.

[Gamsakhurdiya] It is continuing because Soviet troops are helping Ossetian extremists in fighting against the Georgian population. It is a war against Georgia.

[Remez] When I asked the Georgian president whether the Soviets will just get up and leave, he sounded much less confident. It is hard to know, he said. I asked him, how he, as an elected president, would treat those minorities.

[Gamsakhurdiya] All nationalities, national minorities live in Georgia very well and their rights are preserved. They have all rights. They have schools, they have newspapers, they have theaters, and in no other republic do they live so well as in Georgia. The Georgian Jews lived in Georgia very well and nobody disturbed them, but now there are some incidents with Jews by Kremlin agents; Moscow agents provoked some incidents with Jews because they were instructed to do so. They want to spoil our relations with Israel.

[Remez] I wanted to know whether Soviet Georgia would also dispatch agents to Moscow. Gamsakhurdiya responded that they would have both a representation and an embassy. When I asked him whether Soviet Georgia would recall its representatives from the Soviet parliament, Gamsakhurdiya said no. Then, since Soviet Georgia seemed to wish to retain cordial relations with Moscow, I asked Gamsakhurdiya if he had been in contact with his Soviet colleague Gorbachev.

[Gamsakhurdiya] Yes, now we are negotiating.... [changes thought] We want to invite President Gorbachev to Georgia. We have spoken by telephone, and I think he will agree to meet with me.

Cost of Election Victory Viewed

LD2705180591 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 27 May 91

[Commentary by Vitaliy Gurov]

[Text] Preliminary returns of the presidential election in the Soviet Transcaucasian Republic of Georgia show that Zviad Gamsakhurdiya has won a landslide victory over his five opponents and will become Georgia's president. Commentary is from Vitaliy Gurov:

There was little doubt Zviad Gamsakhurdiya would win the race. The Georgian media described him as the indisputable political leader of the republic and the candidate that the people pinned hope on. Gamsakhurdiya's victory in a general and contested election gave the way to his claim to leadership.

A number of analysts feel his championship of human rights and past martyrdom at the hands of the former authorities have helped raise his rating and people have put the recent political reform to his credit. After he was elected head of the Georgian parliament Georgia legally reestablished its independent statehood, reshaped its past structures, and late last March carried out a referendum which demonstrated public support for the official line for full independence.

In his own mind Gamsakhurdiya left no room for doubt as to who would win the race, and since he has grown accustomed to seeing his own destiny and the fate of his republic through the prism of Georgia's relations with Moscow he declared the outcome of the election would spell final defeat for the Kremlin.

What he meant is anyone's guess. The Soviet media gave unbiased coverage of Zviad Gamsakhurdiya's performance in the electoral campaign, but felt free to feature the drawn-out armed conflict in Southern Ossetia, too. The Georgian parliament's decision to deny autonomy to that region has brought about thousands of refugees and resulted in hundreds of human casualties. Even though the president-elect has said: Georgia lays no claim to the autonomy of its constituent republics Abkhazia and Adzharia, the fate of these is still as uncertain as the fate of Southern Ossetia.

Gamsakhurdiya and his team are bent on Georgian independence. Hopefully, to gain it they will follow the path of strict observation of human rights and will reject nationalist and chauvinistic approaches.

Ter-Petrosyan's Visit to France Reported

PM2705134191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 May 91 Union Edition p 6

[Yu. Kovalenko report: "L. Ter-Petrosyan's Visit to France"]

[Text] Paris—L. Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, who is visiting France, has been

received by President F. Mitterrand, L. Fabius, chairman of the National Assembly, Foreign Minister R. Dumas, P. Mauroy, first secretary of the French Socialist Party, and Mayor of Paris J. Chirac.

L. Ter-Petrosyan, the Parisian press writes, commenting on the results of the visit, wants to establish direct economic ties between Armenia and France.

I came to Paris, the head of the Armenian parliament said, to tell the French president that the situation in Armenia is not critical, the republic's government is still working toward independence in conditions of democracy and respect for the USSR Constitution. L. Ter-Petrosyan claimed that his republic is being "pressured" by the central authorities.

L. Ter-Petrosyan stressed that the West, which does not want to destabilize the political situation in the USSR and is therefore backing President Gorbachev, should take into consideration the fact that there are also other political forces—the republics—in the USSR.

For their part, France's leaders, who have recently had meetings with representatives of various Soviet republics, including B.N. Yeltsin, noted that they are maintaining these contacts within the framework of their relations with the Soviet Union.

The large Armenian community in France is keeping an attentive eye on events in Armenia. During the recent events in the republic, the "Dashnaktsutyun" party, which occupies dominant positions in the diaspora, organized a protest demonstration 8 May outside the Soviet Embassy in Paris.

Debates are under way within the Armenian community, LE MONDE pointed out, regarding the future of the Armenian republic. "Dashnaktsutyun" reproaches L. Ter-Petrosyan and his friends for intending to pursue a policy of accord and economic cooperation with Turkey.

By contrast, the supporters of the Armenian national movement which organized L. Ter-Petrosyan's visit to Paris back the Supreme Soviet chairman and accuse "Dashnaktsutyun" of "nationalist excesses."

KGB Mediates Armenian-Azerbaijan Dispute

PM2805092191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 May 91 Union Edition p 1

[Interview with Major General V. Shironin, deputy chief of the USSR KGB Second Main Directorate, by S. Lvov; place and date of interview not given; first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction: "Azerbaijan-Armenia: KGB Reconciling Warring Sides"]

[Text] Major General V. Shironin, deputy chief of the USSR KGB's Second Main Directorate, has returned with good news from a duty tour of border rayons in Armenia and Azerbaijan: Thanks to the mediation of the KGB, warring sides in several rayons have signed cease-fire agreements. In the localities where such documents have been adopted, no shots have rung out for more than two weeks.

From 29 April onward, V. Shironin said, we toured villages in Armenia and the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic, meeting inhabitants and discussing essentially one question: What is to be done to reach a cease-fire right now? It emerged that some sort of organ was needed to monitor the actions of the parties involved in the conflict. This is how the control groups came into being which comprise a representative each of the local KGB sections, the internal affairs system, and rural soviets. In this way there are three trusted individuals on each side. A KGB officer from Moscow coordinates their work, and guarantees the safety of the meetings and talks.

After the establishment of such a group, an agreement on a cease-fire and the functions of the group which monitors the development of the situation is concluded. The group investigates every specific incident and does everything to refute harmful rumors and forestall mutual recriminations.

[Lvov] What are the most important points contained in the agreement between the sides?

[Shironin] First, the warring forces move back all firearms, including hail-dispersal guns, by 5 km on each side of the border. All firing positions, embrasures, trenches, and so forth are filled in. Second, an accord is concluded not to hamper field work. Peasants going into fields must not be afraid for their lives.

[Lvov] Did you meet any of the guerrillas? What is their view of the reconciliation?

[Shironin] The problem is that the "guerrillas" are not local inhabitants as a rule. Their families frequently live hundreds of kilometers from the conflict area. And I can cite examples where the population of border villages was opposed to its "defenders," who furthermore demand money to buy weapons and food. I reiterate, the absolute majority want peace, although I cannot rule out provocations. However, in the current situation of unstable equilibrium, these would be highly undesirable. Therefore, in parallel with reconciliation, we will also use force.

[Lvov] What was the attitude to your agreements in Baku and Yerevan?

[Shironin] It was positive. Both sides admit that an effective working mechanism of reconciliation is emerging right now. If is successful on a local scale, it may be possible to extend the experiment along the whole length of the border between the two republics.

[Lvov] What can you say about the terms of the reconciliation—a month, six months, or a year?

[Shironin] As early as the end of May, beginning of June new accords—on the establishment of a "security zone"—are to be added to the signed agreements. The draft of such a decision already exists.

Central Asia

Pavlov Visits Uzbekistan To Solve Market Problems

Gives Interview at Airport

LD2405172691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0855 GMT 23 May 91

[Text] Tashkent, 23 May (UZTAG-TASS)—USSR Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov has arrived in the capital of Uzbekistan (a Central Asian republic). He gave an interview to journalists at the airport.

Regarding the objectives of his visit to the republic, the prime minister noted that it is connected with the topical tasks of today, in particular with solving the problems of the transfer to market relations. Probably the most complex of these, he said, are the unequal starting conditions in which the republics have found themselves. For decades, the stress has been put on specialization. Each republic, proceeding from the common tasks of the country's economy, has specialized in the output of this or that item of production, this or that raw material, and this has led to different standards of living of the population and of social injustice in relation to the people living in different regions.

The market is a pretty dynamic thing, and for that reason these problems have become more acute in a number of republics at the stage of the transition to it. We must now approach the solution to these problems in a specific way, having closely studied the situation which is developing in the republics.

The situation caused by the natural disasters in Uzbekistan has speeded up my arrival here, Valentin Pavlov concluded. One needs to determine first hand how and with what means we can help the Uzbek people and support them at this difficult time. Misfortune brings people closer together, the saying goes, and friendship between peoples has its own long history and its own old traditions.

The USSR prime minister flew to Nukus today, and he will visit Urgench and Khiva.

Islam Karimov, the president of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic, is accompanying Valentin Pavlov on his trip.

Meets With Uzbek Leaders

LD2405225191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1500 GMT 24 May 91

[Text] USSR Prime Minister Valentin Sergeyevich Pavlov is visiting Uzbekistan. Our special correspondents Valeriy Kiosa and Erkhim Rakhimov report on how this working trip is going:

[First correspondent] Indeed, one can already sum up the preliminary results of this trip which is now coming to an end. I must say that all the questions discussed here in Uzbekistan—apart from Tashkent and its enterprises, the prime minister visited Nukus, the center of Karakalpakia, and Khorezm Oblast—all these questions can, rather conditionally of course, be divided into two parts. The first part comprises strategic problems connected with the fact that economic conditions in various regions of our country are such that they place the Central Asian republics in a difficult position during the transfer to the market.

The second part concerns what can be done now, today, in order to eliminate the aftermath of the natural disaster that struck the republic in the past week. I am referring to the torrential rain, hail, and squal winds that left hundreds of thousands of people homeless and that caused irreparable damage in places to the republic's agriculture.

So, if one is to speak about this second group of problems the prime minister confirmed his intention to give unconditional and immediate help to these regions and confirmed this today at a meeting of the republican cabinet of ministers.

[Second correspondent] How is the problem to be resolved of providing work for the population, and what should be done to ensure that Uzbekistan and the other Central Asian republics should not appear as suppliants in our Union? For they are not to blame for having become primarily suppliers of raw material.

[First correspondent] The possibility for resolving this problem is seen in one thing: in the development of the economic potential of the republic, in the development of entrepeneuralism, and consequently the creation of new workplaces and the role here of the republican bodies is, of course, great. At the meeting of the republican cabinet of ministers today this was stressed by the country's prime minister. Apart from that, this is most directly connected with the question of how to ensure that all the republics and regions of the country enter the market without the current distortions in the economy.

By the way, that provides the answer on why the prime minister came to Uzbekistan. The reason was to formulate a mechanism for actions for all this region on the example of this republic.

The discussion today at the meeting of the cabinet of ministers at which the results of the trip were summed up was extremely specific and directed toward real and not just paper solutions to the questions.

At a press conference that took place afterwards Valentin Sergeyevich Pavlov stressed that this trip has provided rich food for resolving practical problems in the implementation of the government's anticrisis program. At the same time its fundamental directions, of course, remain unchanged.

Speaking today at the meeting of the republican government, the country's prime minister stressed once again that the main direction of the whole activity of the government would be freedom of enterprises and not transferring their subordination to various bodies of power.

Thus the trip by USSR Prime Minister Pavlov to Uzbekistan is coming to an end. Tomorrow the prime minister returns to Moscow.

Uzbeks Reject Protest on Official's Acquittal

OW2805042191 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1230 GMT 27 May 91

[Text] The judicial committee on criminal affairs of the Supreme Court of Uzbekistan has rejected as unfounded the protest of the deputy general procurator of the USSR on the acquittal by the Namangansky local court on July 9, 1990 of the former deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Uzbekistan, Sultanmurad Kanyazov.

The commission drew the procurators attention to the "blatant flouting of law and civil rights" allegedly perpetrated in the investigation carried out by the procurators group headed by Telman Gdlyan.

Both at the hearing and in many statements Mr. Kanyazov has always denied the accustations that he took bribes or was involved in the "cotton" case.

Kyrgyz Statement Assails Tajik President

LD2405222291 Bishkek Radio Bishkek Network in Russian 1300 GMT 22 May 91

["Announcement of the press center of the president of the Kyrgyz Republic"]

[Text] On 20 May a report was shown on the television program "Mezgil" [Vremya] from the Isfara Rayon in Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] on disputed questions of land use on the borders of Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. The president of Tajikistan expressed bewilderment, in an interview with the television journalist, about the absence of the president of Kyrgyzstan, who supposedly should have been there according to the planned meeting on these matters. By this it was given to understand that the Tajik side was prepared to hold talks and that the blame for the breakdown of the dialogue lay on the Kyrgyz side.

In connection with this the press center of the president of the Kyrgyz Republic is authorized to clarify this question. In line with the agreement of both sides, the meeting of the presidents of the two republics should have taken place before the work of the [word indistinct] government commissions on the regulation of disputed questions about the use of land; the commissions were tasked with formulating in the process the corresponding document for signing by both leaders. Two rounds of such talks were held on 16 and 17 May, in the town of Isfara in Tajik SSR. They, however, did not lead to constructive results due to the uncalculated pretensions of the Tajik side which, at the outset, demanded the handover of 24,000 hectares of Batken land to the people of Isfara Rayon and then agreed to [word indistinct]. But in any case this would have been unacceptable because this is practically illegal territoriial pretensions of one republic on another and would lead to groundless [word indistinct] of the established boundaries between them, the integrity of which is confirmed by the draft Union treaty.

Taking this into account, along official lines, the leadership of Tajikistan were (?told) that the meeting of the presidents of the two republics scheduled for 18 May could not be held due to the absence of a topic for constructive discussion. The leader of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic, however, for some incomprehensible reason, came to Isfara and in his statements on the actions of the leaders of Krygyzstan, deviated from the actual state of affairs and deluded the people of the two republics and the whole country.